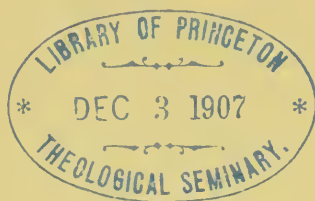


ST PAUL AND HIS EPISTLES





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VOL. I

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HISTORY OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

By E. JACQUIER

AUTHORISED TRANSLATION FROM THE FRENCH

BY

REV. J. DUGGAN

VOLUME I

PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS
ST PAUL AND HIS EPISTLES

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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC LIBRARY

BETWEEN Faith and Science there is no real opposition, but of apparent opposition there is much. And as people regulate their lives on appearances and follow the line of least resistance, Faith is often sacrificed on the altar of Science. Estrangement from religious practices, moral unrest, defection from the Church, aimless lives follow on the loss of Faith. The evil is patent to all observers, it is ever spreading under our eyes. The remedy consists in making clear to all the real harmony between Faith and Science, that is between knowledge founded on divine revelation and knowledge drawn from purely natural sources. A great number of Catholic scholars of every country are labouring at this task: the proximate object of the *International Catholic Library* is to offer to English students and readers the best result of their labours. A further object of the I. C. L. is to facilitate, between workers in the various fields of ecclesiastical science, through the comparison of ideas and ideals, a better understanding, an *entente*

cordiale making for peace and union, Accordingly direct attacks, bitter controversies and all things not making for peace are excluded. On the other hand, no book is rejected which throws the light of science on any of the many aspects of catholic thought and life, past and present, or which is helpful in promoting the religious life of the cultured men and women of our generation.

Cardinal Steinhuber, the Archbishop of Westminster, the Bishops of Southwark and Salford and others, have signified their approval of this Apostolate of the Press.

BATTLE.

Feast of the Assumption, 1906.

J. WILHELM,
Editor.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THIS first volume of the International Catholic Library is already well known to many English students of Holy Scripture, having been for some time in use as a text-book at the Southwark diocesan Seminary. The translation will be found shorter than the original, not on account of any real or substantial omission, but because the analyses of the Epistles have been reduced to more suitable proportions.

J. D.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to narrate the various circumstances that contributed to the writing of the books of the New Testament, with the view of showing in what environment they stand historically and dogmatically. For this purpose we have had to state the events that gave rise to them, we have had to study the philosophical and religious ideas of the authors, and we have had to describe the intellectual and social condition of those for whom these books were originally intended. We have also had to deal with the question of authenticity, since with regard to most of these books it has for one reason or another been disputed ; this discussion will, we hope, be found of practical value in leading the reader towards a thorough knowledge of each book. We have also given an analysis of each book, explaining the leading ideas and showing how they are connected one with the other. We have not laid much stress on matters that properly belong to criticism, we have confined ourselves rather to history and dogma.

We deal with the books in chronological order as far as it can be ascertained. We begin with the Epistles of St Paul, since their dates are fairly well

known to us. In the next place we take the books according to their probable dates: the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles, and the Johannine writings.

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PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS

CHAPTER I

CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

WE must take it for granted at the outset that the reader has some knowledge of the religious, intellectual, and social conditions in which the Books of the New Testament were produced. We cannot give more than an outline of the history of the New Testament or of the times of Our Lord and of the Apostles. Dates are in most cases only approximate, since the documents do not give numbers with the accuracy that modern history aims at. Moreover the Jewish year does not begin on the same day as the Roman year or as our year, hence it is often necessary to give two dates in one year. The relative dates can often be ascertained between any two events, when the real date—or the place in universal history to be ascribed to some New Testament fact—cannot be ascertained.

I. DATE OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST

Our Lord was born in the lifetime of King Herod. Consequently he was not born in the year 754 A.U.C.,

which is the first year of our era, because at that time King Herod had been some three years dead. Dionysius Exiguus, a monk of the sixth century, is responsible for our actual era; and he made a mistake in making it begin in 754 A.U.C. For an examination of facts that are known to us shows that the date of the Birth of Christ is three to six years before our era.

Testimony of St Matthew.—According to this Evangelist room must be found in the lifetime of King Herod, not only for the birth of Christ, but also for the coming of the Wise Men and for the Flight into Egypt. Unfortunately we know only approximately the date of that king's death. No matter how we calculate—whether from the beginning of his reign *de jure*, or *de facto*, or from the accession of his sons—it is impossible to say for certain whether he died in the third or in the fourth year before Christ. But the fourth year is the more probable date. An astronomical fact helps us in coming to this conclusion. There was an eclipse of the moon a few months before Herod's death, and we know that he died a few days before the Passover. The eclipses that were visible in Palestine in those years took place on the 23rd March and the 5th September in the year 5, and on the 12th March in the year 4; we must exclude the first and the third because they would leave too much or too little time before the king's death; therefore there remains the date of the 5th September in the year 5 before our era for the eclipse, and the Passover of the year 4 for Herod's death. Consequently we may place the birth of Christ in the year 4, or rather in the year 6 or 7, so as to allow for the events that took place between His birth and Herod's death.

Testimony of St Luke.—Important works have been published on the census of Quirinius. We must confine ourselves to a statement of the difficulty together with an indication of the most recent and most certain solutions. Some points may be taken as settled, others remain at present undecided.

“In those days there went out a decree from Cesar Augustus that the whole world should be enrolled [inscribed on a register]. This enrolling was first made while Quirinius governed Syria” (Luke ii. 2). Many questions arise out of this text.

Gardthausen, the most recent writer of the history of Augustus, asserts that the Emperor never decreed any enrolling of the whole Roman Empire. No contemporary historian mentions anything of the kind, and we can hardly believe that no notice would have been taken of so important an event. The only writers who speak of it: Cassiodorus in the fifth century, Isidore of Seville in the seventh, and Suidas in the tenth, are too recent, and are too evidently based upon St Luke. We are bound to admit that contemporary historians such as Tacitus and Suetonius are silent on the point, but it cannot be denied that in the time of Augustus there were enrolments that may be called local. We have evidence of them in Gaul: the Claudian table, of which the original is preserved in the Palace of St Peter at Lyons, says that Drusus was making an enrolment when he was called away to the war—and that was in the twelfth year before Christ. Census lists made in Egypt in the first century after Christ have been discovered by Kenyon, Viereck, and Wilcken. Other evidence is forthcoming with regard to other provinces. Supposing that Augustus did not decree any universal enrolment, the fact that in his time there were enrolments of which we cannot

for want of documentary evidence tell the number, but of which several are known to us, this fact may have induced St Luke to generalise and to say that the Roman Emperor had decreed that the whole Roman world should be enrolled. Land registrations of the time of Augustus are known to us. These are sometimes stated to be the enrolling referred to by St Luke. But we doubt whether that can be true, because the one concerns persons and the other concerns property. The evangelist would have used the word *ἐπιτιμᾶν* and not the word *ἀπογράφεσθαι* if he had referred to property, and St Joseph would have been inscribed on the register of Nazareth where his property was situated, and not on that of Bethlehem.

Supposing that a census of the empire had been decreed, it would not follow that there must have been one in Judea which was not a province of the empire; it was a kingdom allied to the empire, and Herod seems to have been independent as regards taxation. Josephus knows of no census in Judea until the time of Archelaus the son of Herod; this was held in the year 7 after Christ, and Josephus speaks of it as of something new and unprecedented among the Jews. Strictly speaking it may be true that allied kingdoms were not bound to make a census if one were decreed for the empire, it is equally true that the Romans did not always respect the strict rights of their allies; at the same time the case of the Clitæ, which is often quoted to prove that the Romans did order enrolments in independent kingdoms, does not really prove anything of the kind, because Tacitus (Ann. 6, 41) merely says that Archelaus wanted to make a census among the Clitæ after the Roman method, he does not say that the Romans made it or ordered it.

The silence of Josephus as to St Luke's enrolling may be said not to be an absolute silence, for (Ant. 17, 2, 4,) he says: "The whole Jewish people bound itself by an oath to be of goodwill towards Cesar." These words may contain an allusion to some kind of a registering of individuals in the time of Herod. Besides Josephus does not say quite explicitly that the census of the year 7 was the first, what he says is that: "Though the Jews were at first unwilling to obey with regard to being registered, by degrees they withdrew their opposition to it."

The census having been decreed by the emperor, Joseph and Mary should have been registered at Nazareth where they dwelt, since according to Roman law people were registered at their place of residence. But it is possible that Rome allowed Herod to take the census after the Jewish method, and this would explain why Joseph took Mary to Bethlehem.

Our principal difficulty is in the mention made by St Luke of Quirinius. For Christ was born before the death of Herod, and Quirinius was not governor of Syria in Herod's lifetime. He was governor in the year 6 after Christ for the second time. We learn this from an inscription that was discovered in 1764, which says that a personage whom our learned men agree to be Quirinius *iterum Syriam et Phœnicen obtinuit*; but we do not know when he was governor for the first time. It can be only from the year 3 to 1 before Christ, since the governors of the other dates are known to us: Sentius Saturninus from 8 to 6 before Christ, Quinctilius Varus from 6 to 4, Caius Cesar as *Præpositus Orientis* from 1 to 4 after Christ. In any case Quirinius was not governor of Syria in the

time of Herod, because Varus still held that position in the time of Archelaus the son and successor of Herod (Josephus Antiq. 17, 9, 3 and 10, 1). Therefore St Luke's words: ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου stand in need of interpretation, and more than one meaning can be put upon them.

The translation of this passage in the Vulgate is: *facta est a præside Syriæ Cyrino*. *Facta est* stands for ἐγένετο which may really mean *happened* or *took place* instead of *was made*. Originally the Vulgate had—as we see in the best MSS.—viz. A E P F G Y M P N, and also in several ancient latin MSS.—viz. t l q r—*descriptio facta est, præside*; some copyist inserted an *a*, and made away with the ablative absolute.

It would be too long to enter into all the explanations that have been given; we will take only two, and these are the most recent. They are given by Bour and Ramsay and they agree in several respects. We may however mention one ancient explanation which is not devoid of probability—viz. that the census begun under the predecessors of Quirinius was completed in the latter's term of office and so was attributed to him and went by his name. Tertullian (adv. Marc. 4, 19) says practically that the census was made by Sentius Saturninus 8 to 6 before Christ, which would agree with the probable date of the birth of Christ. But why was so much time required for it?

The Bour-Ramsay theory is that in St Luke ἡγεμών does not necessarily mean governor. The same expression is used of Pilate ἡγεμονεύοντος Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας and Felix (Acts xxiii. 24) is called ἡγεμών, though both of them were simply procurators ἐπίτροπος. Therefore Quirinius may have been

called ἡγεμὼν without being a governor properly so called.

Two explanations of this are offered. First, we have seen that periodical enrolments used to be made in the Roman empire, the first one took place in Syria under Sentius Saturninus 8 to 7 before Christ, and in Judea in the year 6. At that time Quirinius was in command of the Roman armies in Syria, he was ἡγεμὼν (Tacitus Ann. 3, 48; Strabo, 12, 6, 5). St Luke may have given him this title and dated this event from him instead of mentioning Varus who was not so well known. Something similar may be seen in iii. 2 and in Acts iv. 6. Then this enrolling may have been the first of the periodical enrollings, and not the first of the two made by Quirinius, the second one taking place in the year 6 after Christ. And Tertullian would thus be right in saying that the enrolling was held under Saturninus, because the official documents would contain his name. Secondly, there were in the provinces *procuratores* who were with the legates responsible for the administration of the finances, we find mention of them together with the governors of Syria: Sentius Saturninus and Varus. Quirinius may have been such a procurator, and may have taken part in the enrolling made by Herod under the direction of the Roman procurator. In that case *πρώτη* would mean the first enrolling made by Quirinius. We do not pretend that these solutions are satisfactory in every sense, there are points that remain doubtful. However they throw some light on the question, and we can only hope that future discoveries may clear up what we now leave in doubt.

Another and a more simple explanation is offered

by Godet (Intro. au N. Test.). He translates Luke ii. 2 as follows:—"The very first enrolling took place when Quirinius was governor of Syria," and he makes this enrolling not to be the same as the one that is mentioned in the preceding verse. There was in fact an enrolling that the Jews had every reason for remembering, because it marked the termination of their independence as a nation. Acts v. 37 speak of it as *the enrolling* without any qualification. As St Luke had just mentioned an enrolling anterior to the only one that had made any great impression on the imagination of the Jewish people, and he fixed the period of the one that was commonly called the first, by attaching to it the name of Quirinius. All the former enrolments had been statistical, whereas this one aimed at enumerating individuals and estimating properties for the purpose of settling the taxes, and that is the reason why it occasioned a sedition among the Jews. So that the enrolling mentioned in the first verse may have taken place as Tertullian says under Sentius Saturninus 8 to 6 before Christ, and Quirinius, even according to St Luke, would have had nothing to do with it.

According to Luke iii. 23 Our Lord at His baptism was about thirty years of age. We shall see presently that this again is only an approximation, and that it is in agreement with what we have settled so far. We take it now that Christ was born about the year 6 to 3 before our era.

It is impossible to fix the day of the month. Clement of Alexandria in the third century did not know it. In the Stromata, 1, 21 he says that it was fixed from the 19th to 20th April to the 29th May. Down to the fourth century the Eastern Church kept the feast of the Birth on the 6th January, on which

day were also kept the Epiphany and the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan. Traces of this may be seen in the Divine Office to this day. St John Chrysostom (Hom. 33, in Matt.) assures us that in the Western Church the tradition has always been that Christ was born on the 25th December. St Augustin (Epist. 119) bears the same witness to the primitive tradition. Duchesne (Orig. du culte) quotes from the philocalian calendar the most ancient testimony that we have for this date. That calendar was drawn up in Rome in the year 336 and contains the following:—“*VIII Kal. ian. natus Christus in Betleem Judæ.*”

2. DATE OF THE BAPTISM AND OF THE BEGINNING OF THE PUBLIC LIFE OF OUR LORD

St Luke, after giving an account of the Baptism, goes on to say: καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὥσεί ἐτων τριάκοντα. There are some who refer ὥσει ἐτων τριακοντα to ἀρχόμενος and translate: “Jesus was beginning His thirtieth year.” But such a translation is an impossible one, because ἀρχόμενος excludes ὥσει, you cannot begin your thirtieth year about your thirtieth year. Besides we must not overlook the aramaism of which there are other examples in St Luke—viz. xxiii. 5, and Acts i. 22 and x. 37. The meaning is that Our Lord was about thirty years of age—that is, from twenty-eight to thirty-two when He began His Ministry.

Can we now give the real date of that event and draw from it what the date of the Birth was? Approximately we can. The evangelist tells us when John the Baptist began to preach, it was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cesar. Now, Augustus died on the 19th August in the year 14; consequently

this fifteenth year was the twenty-ninth after Christ ; or if the second year of the reign be reckoned from the 1st January, it would be the twenty-eighth year. So that, Christ having been born before the year 4, He would have been thirty-two or thirty-three years old at the time of His Baptism.

We arrive at a similar result if we reckon by Roman dates. The first year of Tiberius was 783 A.U.C. Christ was born before 750 which is the date of Herod's death. Allowing therefore for some interval between His Baptism and the beginning of the preaching of John the Baptist, He would still be thirty-two or thirty-three years of age. The expression in verse 23 is elastic enough to bear this interpretation: thirty-two or thirty-three years is *about thirty years*. Besides we have ancient testimonies in favour of Our Lord having lived beyond forty years. St Ireneus (Adv. Her. 2, 22, 5) says that the presbyters of Asia who had spoken with St John and the other apostles told him that Christ had lived beyond forty years. He draws this conclusion also from the words of the Jews in John viii. 57 : "Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?" However this is not the common opinion. Some hold that the *ἡγεμονία* of Tiberius did not begin at the death of Augustus, but is to be counted from when he received tribunitial power in the thirteenth year of Christ, or from when he obtained the power of administration over the provinces in the year 11 according to Mommsen. Fifteen years after this epoch would bring us to the year 26-28, and Christ would be twenty-nine to thirty years of age.

St John ii. 20 says that Christ was in Jerusalem for the feast of Easter next after this baptism, and that in the course of a dispute the Jews said to Him : "Six

and forty years was this temple in building." They meant that the work of building had been going on for forty-six years; the use of the aorist shows this; and we know that the temple was not finished until about the beginning of the Jewish war (Josephus Ant. 20, 9, 7). Now the temple was begun in the eighteenth year of Herod which was 734 A.U.C., and forty-six years bring us to the year 780; as Christ was born in 750, He would be about thirty years old at the first Easter in His public life. This is only approximate however, for Josephus says elsewhere (Ant. 15, 11, 1) that the temple was begun in the fifteenth year of Herod's reign; this may refer to preparations for the building; only we cannot tell to which date the Jews alluded in the text of St John. Our Lord may have been twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old at that time.

From these calculations we draw the conclusion that the mission of John the Baptist began in the year 26-28, that Christ was baptised in 27-28, and that the first Easter in His public life was in 28. Since He was then about thirty years old—*i.e.* in the year 26-28—He must have been born in the year 4-3 before our era. The texts of St Matthew and St Luke point to 6-4, therefore the difference is slight, and whatever difference there is may arise from variations in the beginnings of the years.

3. DURATION OF OUR LORD'S PUBLIC LIFE

Tradition is not unanimous on this point. St Ireneus plainly asserts that Our Lord's public life lasted more than ten years. Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius, and some twenty other writers say directly

or indirectly that it lasted only one year; but the majority put it down at three years. The gospel narratives furnish nothing very definite. Let us begin with St John.

In John ii. 13 we read that the Pasch of the Jews was near at hand, then verse 23 says that Our Lord was in Jerusalem for that Pasch. This first Easter comes after the miracle at Cana, and belongs therefore to the first year of Our Lord's public life.

In John v. 1 we read: "After that there was [the—a] feast of the Jews." If we follow the best manuscripts and omit the article before *ἑορτή*, this is a feast of Jews. If we adopt the reading of the manuscripts that contain the article, this feast was the Pasch or the feast of Tabernacles, probably the latter.

John vi. 4 says: "The Pasch the feast of the Jews was near at hand." This would be a most valuable text if we could rely upon *τὸ πάσχα* being the genuine reading. The Greek MSS. and the versions are in favour of it, but the writers who believed the public life to have lasted only one year are opposed to it.

John xi. 55: "The Pasch of the Jews was near at hand." This was Our Lord's last Easter.

Three systems have been built upon these texts.

1. The public life lasted one year. The first Pasch (John ii. 13) occurred soon after the Baptism; the next two are doubtful, and the second Pasch (John xi. 55) occurred immediately before His Death.

2. The public life lasted two years and a half—viz. half-a-year before the first Pasch in ii. 23, one year between that and the Pasch in vi. 4, another year from the one in vi. 4 to the one in xi. 55.

3. The public life lasted three years and a half,

if you take the feast in v. 1 to be an Easter. The most probable opinion is that the first Pasch in ii. 23 occurred immediately after Our Lord's Baptism, and so that the public life lasted three years.

It has been maintained that the synoptic gospels comprise all the events of Christ's life within the space of one year. But that cannot be true. Because in Mark ii. 23 the disciples pass through fields of corn and pluck the ears, therefore the harvest was not far off, and the time must have been April-May. Then in Mark vi. 39 at the multiplication of the loaves there is grass for the multitudes to sit on, that must have been the spring of another year. Next there came the journeys into Phenicia, Northern Galilee, and Perea which must be placed in the following year. So that the public life must have lasted two years at least.

4. DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION

According to these calculations, Our Lord's Death may be placed between the years 28-33 of our era, the most probable date being 29-30. The day of His Death is uncertain; according to St John it is the 14th day of Nisan, according to the synoptics it is the 15th. We can see no reason for preferring the one date to the other. Endless discussions have been held over this problem, numberless hypotheses have been suggested, but none of them satisfy all our requirements; because two texts appear to be irreconcilable. According to the synoptics (Matt. xxvii. 17; Mark xiv. 12; and Luke xxii. 7) Our Lord ate the Passover of the Jews on the evening of the 14th Nisan, and died on the 15th. According to St John xviii. 28,

on the morning of the day on which He died, the Jews refused to enter the pretorium in order that they might not be defiled but might eat the Passover. Therefore that day was the 14th Nisan, and Christ died on that date. There is, we may be certain, a solution of this antinomy, because Tatian and other early harmonists perceived no difficulty here.

Taking it for granted that the date of Our Lord's death was the 14th or 15th Nisan, let us see where according to the Jewish calendar that date would fall. Between the years 28-33 the Friday 14th Nisan is found in the year 33, and Friday the 15th is found in the year 30. According to Preuschen (*Zeit. neu. Wiss.* p. 16) Christ died on the 7th April of the year 30, that day being the 14th Nisan in the Jewish calendar.

5. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF ST PAUL

We must begin by settling relative dates, and then we can establish a connection between them and some event of which the absolute date is known to us.

Relative dates and events in St Paul's life.—The Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv.) is the central point from which we can trace both backward and forward the dates of all the events in the life of the Apostle. We admit with the majority of historians that this Council is identical with the meeting mentioned by St Paul in Gal. ii. 1-10.

The Council of Jerusalem was held at Pentecost in May. St Paul began his second missionary journey the following autumn (Acts xv. 40); from Antioch he travelled through Syria and Cilicia visiting the churches founded in his first missionary journey at

Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia. It is estimated that six months must be allowed for this journey. After that it is uncertain whether he went to Galatia properly so called, or whether he went directly through Mysia to Troas ; but the latter is the more probable. One month is allowed for this. Thence to Corinth through Philippi, Berea, Thessalonica, and Athens in about six months ; a stay of eighteen months at Corinth, and then he returned to Antioch having been absent about two years and nine months. The third missionary journey was from Antioch to Ephesus, and about three months must be allowed for it ; then St Paul made a stay of three years in Ephesus. Thence to Corinth through Macedonia, a stay of three months at Corinth, return to Philippi, about one year, and journey to Jerusalem requiring a month and a half. Thus the third missionary journey lasted about four years and a half. The captivity of St Paul in Jerusalem and Cesarea lasted for two years before Felix was replaced by Porcius Festus ; consequently all these periods together amount to about nine years and a half or ten years. It is evident that these dates are to some extent conjectural.

Looking backward we find that the dates are more definitely, though still not quite definitely fixed. According to Gal. i. 18 three years after his conversion and after his return from Damascus St Paul went up to Jerusalem ; according to Gal. ii. 1 fourteen years later he went up to Jerusalem again. Are these years to be counted from the date of his conversion, or from the date of his first journey ? Most probably, judging by the context, they are to be counted from the journey. Therefore from his conversion to the Council of Jerusalem there were at least seventeen

years, and from his conversion to the recall of Felix there were twenty-seven years and a half.

Absolute dates in St Paul's life.—There are certain events that we may make use of as fixed points, because the dates of them are fairly well known to us. There is the domination of Aretas at Damascus, probably about 34-37 (2 Cor. xi. 33), the famine in Jerusalem, not before the year 46 (Acts xi. 28), the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, probably in 49-50 (Acts xviii. 2), the marriage of Drusilla and Felix, not before 54 (Acts xxiv. 24). The best known of all the dates, and the one that can be best ascertained, is that of the recall of Felix the procurator of Judea. Nevertheless Schürer (Gesch. des jüd. p. 578) holds that we cannot be quite certain with regard to it. There are two theories: according to the one Felix was recalled in 55, according to the other he may have been recalled as early as 58-59 or as late as 60-61. The first theory appears to be supported by the testimony of the ancient writers such as: Eusebius in his Chronicle, Armenian version, version of St Jerome, and Syriac Epitome, the Chronicon Paschale, Euthalius. The principal proofs are these: according to Josephus (Ant. 20, 8, 9) Felix after being recalled from Palestine was prosecuted before Cesar by the Jews of Cesarea, and would have been condemned but for the intervention of his brother Pallas who was at that time all-powerful with Nero. Now according to Tacitus (Ann. 13, 14, 15), Pallas fell from power when Britannicus was nearly fourteen years old; the latter was born in 41, consequently Pallas' disgrace came in 55. The lawsuit against Felix—and of course his recall from Palestine—took place earlier, therefore probably in 54, and that is the first year of Nero's reign. Moreover Eusebius in his Chronicle places

the arrival in Palestine of Festus, the successor of Felix, in the second year of Nero—that is from October 55 to October 56—which brings us back to about the same date for the recall of Felix in 54-56 and for the captivity of St Paul in 52-53. The same date may be seen in Euthalius (Prolog. in Ep. Pauli) and in St Jerome (De Vir. Ill. 7): he says that the Acts go “*usque ad biennium Romæ commorantis Pauli id est usque ad quartum Neronis annum*”; consequently the second year of St Paul’s stay in Rome would be 57-58, the recall of Felix would be in 55-54, and the imprisonment of St Paul in Jerusalem would be in 52.

This date is adopted by O. Holtzman and Harmack. Yet we think it inadmissible. For how can St Paul arrested in 52 have then said to Felix, who was appointed in 52: “Knowing that for many years past *ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν* thou art a judge of this nation” (Acts xxiv. 10). And at the time when St Paul was arrested (Acts xxi. 38), that is in 52-53 according to this chronology, the chiliarch said to him: “Thou art not then that Egyptian who rebelled recently and led out four thousand robbers into the desert?” This rebellion took place according to Josephus (Ant. 20, 8) after the accession of Nero, and therefore after October 54. How could the chiliarch speak of it in 52 or 53? Besides there is difficulty in finding room for all the events of St Paul’s life in the years between 30, the probable date of Christ’s death, and the year 52.

Many chronologists have on account of these impossibilities put off the date of Felix’s recall to 57-58 or even to 60-61. Schürer arrives at the latter date by the following reasoning:—the second successor of Felix, whose name was Albinus, went to Palestine in

the summer of 62; if Festus, the immediate successor of Felix, was procurator for no more than one year, Felix cannot have been recalled later than 60 or 61, nor can his recall be placed much earlier since in 58 St Paul said that he had been for many years a judge of that nation, and he had been judge since 52. Therefore the recall of Felix must be fixed approximately about 58-60. The chronological table will show which of these two theories fits in best with contemporary events.

6. DATE OF THE DEATH OF SS. PETER AND PAUL

There is no doubt that the two apostles Peter and Paul died, if not the same day—and we have no text to prove it except St Jerome's (*De Vir. Ill.* 1)—at least about the same time. St Augustin (*Serm.* 295) says that they died on the same day but not in the same year. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth about 170 according to the testimony of Eusebius, says distinctly: "Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom together τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν." The year is in dispute. Clement of Rome writing to the Corinthians (v. 6) speaks of the testimony rendered by Peter and Paul as well as by several women who underwent the punishments of the Danaids and of Dirce: this refers probably to Nero's persecution. And according to Tacitus that took place in 64. On the other hand, we have positive testimony for a different date. Eusebius in his *Chronicle* (ed. of St Jerome, 2) says that the martyrdom of the apostles took place in the fourteenth year of Nero, that is in 68 after Christ. The Armenian version of the *Chronicle* says that Peter and Paul suffered in the thirteenth year of Nero. There is also

St Jerome's very distinct testimony: he says (Vir. Ill. 1.) that Peter "Romam pergit, ibique viginti quinque annis cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit usque ad ultimum Neronis annum id est quartum decimum." St Jerome relies upon Eusebius, who reproduces the papal chronology of Julius Africanus, which was probably founded on the lists of Hegesippus. Nero died in 68, his fourteenth or last year began in October 67. Peter and Paul may therefore have suffered in 67 or 68. (Duchesne's Orig. chret. p. 72.)

EVENTS OF PROFANE HISTORY	DATES	EVENTS OF NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY	DATES ACCORDING TO						
			Cornely	Belser	Lighthfoot	Ramsay	Harnack	Turner	Zahn
Reign of Tiberius . . .	14-37	Crucifixion of Christ . . .	29	...	30	30	29-30	29	30
Reign of Aretas at Damascus .	34-37	Conversion of St Paul . . .	34	35	34	34	30	35-6	35
Reign of Caligula . . .	37-41	First visit of St Paul to Jerusalem .	37	38	37	37	33	38	38
Reign of Claudius . . .	41-54	... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Death of Herod Agrippa I. . .	44	Death of St James the Greater . . .	42	42	...	...	...	...	...
Famine, Acts ii. 28 . . .	48	Second visit of St Paul to Jerusalem	44	44-5	45	45-6	44	46	44
Expulsion of Jews from Rome .	48	First Miss. journey of St Paul . . .	46	45	48	47	45	47	50-1
		Council of Jerusalem . . .	51	49	51	49-0	46-7	49	52
		Second Miss. journey of St Paul . .	51	49	51	50	46-7	49	52
Marriage of Drusilla and Felix	<i>cir.</i> 54	Third Miss. journey of St Paul . . .	55	52	54	53	50	52	54
Reign of Nero . . .	54-68	Imprisonment of St Paul in Jeru- salem . . .	59	57	58	57	53-4	56	58
		Arrival of St Paul in Rome . . .	62	60	61	60	56-7	59	61
First Persecution . . .	64	Death of St Peter . . .	67	...	64	...	64	64-5	64
Death of Nero . . .	68	Death of St Paul . . .	67	67	67	66-7	64	64-5	66-7

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

1. ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

IN the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were interminable discussions on this subject. The purists on the one hand maintained that the Language of the New Testament had all the characteristics of classic Greek. On the other hand, others maintained that the numberless hebraisms to be found in it gave it a character of its own. At the present time we look at the question from a different point of view altogether: some look upon the language of the New Testament as a special language with its own rules and laws, others consider it to be a special form of the *κοινή διάλεκτος* or *common language* which grew up in the Greek world after the conquests of Alexander the Great by a fusion of dialects in which fusion the Attic dialect predominated. The former of these views is supported by the following arguments:—certain words are employed in the New Testament earlier than they are to be found anywhere else; other words have in it a meaning that they never have in classic Greek, either because the meaning originates in the Hebrew, or because it originates from the first Christian writers; thirdly, many forms of expression are found in it that are unknown in Greek, the whole method of phrasing is

so simple, so without subordinate sentences, as to remind one of the Hebrew rather than the Greek.

Those who hold the second view remark that it is a mistake to speak of certain words as ἁπαξ λεγόμενα *hapaxlegomena* as if the New Testament writers had coined them; it would be more correct to call them ἁπαξ εὔρημένα because they first occur in the New Testament, but in reality they are words belonging to ordinary speech, are to be found in ordinary conversation, and examples of them may be seen in inscriptions and in papyri that have recently been discovered. Deisman (*Bibelstudien*, 80-168) quotes some of them, and now that the attention of learned men has been drawn to the subject, we may expect these quotations in greater numbers. Few documents are accessible to us referring to the language that was in common use at the time of Christ, that is why so many words of that form of speech—about 350—occur in the New Testament and nowhere else. It seems quite incredible that all the New Testament writers were coiners of words. It has often been noticed that St Paul coined words; it has not been noticed that the other New Testament writers coin relatively quite as many; for 155 new words that we find in St Paul, we find 90 in St Luke, 38 in St Matthew, 31 in St Mark, and 21 in St Peter. The simplest explanation seems to be that all these writers made use of the words that were in common use in their times.

Much the same should be said of the hebraisms of the New Testament: many of them must be referred to classical Greek, many to the common language, and some to the conversational language. As for the words that are used in a Christian sense, many of them are found used in that sense in the papyri

of the time as Deisman shows (*Neue Bibelstudien*, pp. 20-51). And finally the simple and direct way of writing without subordinate sentences or parentheses is the conversational style and is found in the written documents of the *κοινή* or *common* language. Deisman has defended this view with erudition, Dr Thumb and Dr Blass were at one time opposed to it, but seem now to have come round to it. And that is how the controversy stands at the present time.

It is important to make a distinction between two kinds of writings in the New Testament: some are translations from the Aramaic, such as certain portions of the synoptic Gospels, and certain portions of the first chapters of the Acts; others were both thought out and written in Greek, such as the epistles of St Paul and the narratives of the Acts. And there is a third category in which we must place the books that were written in Greek but thought out in Aramaic, such as the Johannine writings. This being the case, it is evident that we may expect to find many hebraisms and aramaisms in the first class of writings, fewer in the third class, and none or next to none in the second.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Let us place ourselves at the standpoint of classical Greek, and see how the New Testament language differs from it.

New words.—Leaving out proper names and their derivatives, there are 4829 separate words in the New Testament, 3933 of these belong to classical Greek,

350 belong to post-classical Greek, most of them occur for the first time in the New Testament, and are found later on in Plutarch and in all the Christian writers, 580 occur both in the Septuagint and in the New Testament, 36 are borrowed from the Hebrew, 24 from the Latin, and 6 from other languages. So that there is a total of 996 words—or about one fifth—that do not belong to classical Greek. We cannot tell for certain whether these words were in existence in the classical period and belonged to the language of ordinary conversation, but it seems very likely that they did.

Four things are worthy of remark : first that certain words, such as ἀφρίζω, βρώσιμος, εὐαρεστέω, κολυμβάω, are common to the New Testament and to the comic poets. Kennedy (*Sources of New Testament Greek*, pp. 72-78) gives 204 ; secondly the New Testament writers make use of more than a hundred poetical words, such as, ἀλυσιτελής, ἄφαντος, αὐγάζω, ὀδύνη, φιμώω ; they are fond of diminutives, such as γυναιχάριον, χοράσιον, ὀνάριον, and of compound words, such as ἀγενεαλόγητος, ἐχμυκτηρίζω, υπερεκπερισσως ; finally about 350 words occur for the first time, such as αἰσχροκερδής, ἀνέλεος, ἀντιμισθία, ἀρσενοκοίτης, ἀφεδρών, βολίζω, διετία, διώκτης, δυνατέω, επιούσιος, ἐλλογάω, ἱματίζω, κατάκρισις, κατάλαλος, καταλιθάζω.

New meanings.—Certain words have in the New Testament a meaning that they have not in classical Greek. This change is sometimes due to the natural evolution of the language, sometimes to contact with Hebrew or Aramaic ; as examples of the former we may mention ἀντίληψις help, ἔντευξις petition, στελλομαι to fear ; as examples of the latter αγγελος angel, αἰών eternity, world, δύνάμεις miracles, κρίσις justice, ὁφείλημα sin. Other words have received new

meanings under the influence of Jewish or Christian ideas, such as *σὰρξ και αἷμα, σπλάγχνα, πορεύεσθαι, περιπατεῖν, ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν, αἰών, ἀνάστασις, γένεσθαι θανάτου, εὐαγγέλιον, ζωή, οἱ κλητοί, πίστις, τὸ πνεῦμα, κατὰ σάρκα, δίκαιος, σωτηρία*. And certain expressions or metaphors are quite new, such as *πέτρα σκανδάλον, ἀποθανεῖν ἐν ἁμαρτία, ζῆν τῷ θεῷ, ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, περιπατεῖν ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς, τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως*.

Grammar.—We notice here only the more important changes. For the others we refer the reader to grammars of New Testament Greek; everything that regards the form is too technical for us, we confine ourselves to what regards syntax.

The article is employed much in the same way as in classical Greek; personal pronouns are more common in the New Testament and make the sentences more emphatic (Matt. iii. 4 and xiii. 4); the possessive adjective is replaced by the genitive of personal pronouns, or if it is used the article is used with it and the sense is emphatic (Mark viii. 38) except when it is the predicate (Mark x. 40). Sometimes the pronoun is repeated needlessly (Matt. viii. 23; Mark xiii. 19); *αὐτός* has a reflective sense (Matt. iii. 16 and v. 29); *οὐ πᾶς not everyone* is a hebraism for *οὐδεὶς no one*. The use of the cases is fairly regular, nevertheless the genitive sometimes takes the place of an adjective *σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* (Romans vi. 6) *υἱοὶ ἡμέρας* (1 Thess. v. 5). Degrees of comparison are used irregularly (Matt. xvii. 8 and viii. 28; Luke xvii. 2). The middle voice is used correctly but not as often as in classical Greek. In the use of the tenses semitic influences may be felt; the indicative is used in place of the future (Mark i. 7; Luke xii. 39); the distinction between the aorist and the perfect is not always observed (Rom. iii. 23-27 and

xi. 1, 47); the indicative future and the aorist of the subjunctive are used as equivalents; the optative tends to disappear; the infinitive sometimes serves as an imperative (Luke xxii. 42); it is often used with a preposition and an article (Rom. iv. 18; Matt. vi. 1); the periphrastic use of the present or past participle with the verb εἰμί (*I am*) is very frequent (Luke vi. 43; 2 Cor. ix. 12; Matt. x. 30; Luke xx. 6); the periphrastic participle stands for some unusual tense or indicates the permanence or the habit of an action or a state. A participle or a noun is placed beside a verb belonging to the same root in order to emphasise the idea (Matt. xiii. 14). Participles that might find their place in the construction of the sentence are left to stand alone, and words are placed at the beginning of a sentence without being attached to it (Luke xx. 27; Phil. iii. 9). Cases required by verbs are often not employed, and are replaced by prepositions; and ἐν or εἰς *e.g.* have a modified or extended meaning. Conjunctions are not varied nearly so much as in classical Greek, καὶ (*and*) is often used in ever so many senses, δε often means *now*, ἵνα has an extended meaning and governs without any definite rule sometimes one mood sometimes another; εἰ (*if*) is used in oaths like the Hebrew *im*.

The influence of Latin may be perceived in many ways, for instance in the use of ὅτι and ἵνα in place of the accusative and infinitive, in the tendency to ignore the difference between the aorist and the perfect, in the use of ἀπό before the genitive after verbs that express fear, and in certain expressions, such as δὸς ἐργασίαν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν, τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν, σὺ ὄψη, which are latinisms.

Style.—Every New Testament writer has his own

way of writing, and we shall speak of each in due time. At present we are concerned only with characteristics that are common to all the writers. As a rule the New Testament sentences are simple, they contain no subordinate sentences, the propositions are more commonly connected by *καί* (*and*) than by any of the numerous conjunctions that are so frequently used in classical Greek. The matter is often not divided at all, or if it is, it is often clumsily divided. Bad figures of speech are frequent: such as the anacolouthon or the *oratio pendens*; sometimes a sentence is left unfinished; the construction is confused and irregular, it begins in one way and ends in another. Redundancy and false emphasis occur. The authors write as they think, and make no attempt to write with polish. As Viteau says in Vigouroux's *Dict. de la Bible*: "They do not as a rule show any signs of labour or fatigue in writing. On the contrary their impressions are marked with vivacity, their memory is prompt, their imagination is mobile, and what they seem to aim at is to represent ideas—even when they are abstract—as concrete or to narrate events with such circumstances and details as to make a vivid picture." All these qualities and defects taken together have formed a style that is picturesque, full of ideas, well suited for reading in public, in fact quite an original style without any model in former ages and without any copies in later times.

ST PAUL AND HIS EPISTLES

CHAPTER I

THE epistles of St Paul fill up so naturally the framework of his missionary career, and are so essentially the expression of his inmost thoughts and of his religious experience, that in order to understand their origin or to watch their development, we must study what the facts and the texts tell us of the nationality of St Paul, of his personal qualities, his mind, his external appearance, his education, and the various influences that were brought to bear upon his spirit.

I. NATIONALITY OF ST PAUL

“I am a Jew,” says St Paul, “born in Tarsus of Cilicia, citizen of no mean city, educated in this city [Jerusalem], I sat at the feet of Gamaliel and diligently learned the law of our fathers, full of the zeal of God [Acts xxi. 39 and xxii. 3], whom I serve like my ancestors before me with a pure conscience [2 Tim. i. 3], I was circumcised on the eighth day, I belong to the race of Israel, to the tribe of Benjamin, I am a Hebrew of the Hebrews, a Pharisee, for the law, a zealot, a persecutor of the Church, for the justice of the law, irreproachable (Phil. iii. 2-6; 2 Cor. xi. 22; Acts ii. 3, 6). I made progress in Judaism beyond many of my age and nation, was filled to excess with

zeal for the traditions of our fathers (Gal. i. 14), I have lived as a Pharisee according to the strictest rule of our religion (Acts xxvi. 5). I am by birth a Roman citizen" (Acts xxii. 28). This is what St Paul tells us with regard to his nationality and his youth.

St Jerome says that St Paul was born at Giscala in Galilee, and that his parents emigrated to Tarsus in Cilicia ; but this must be a mistake, though perhaps his parents did at one time live in Giscala. We cannot tell when they went to Tarsus, probably it was before the birth of St Paul, since they were Roman citizens at the time of his birth. They must have obtained this dignity at Tarsus as a reward for services rendered or by purchase. Being citizens of Tarsus, they were no doubt in a position of respectability ; their being Pharisees and Roman citizens points to the same conclusion, because the Pharisees belonged exclusively to the superior classes among the Jews, and at that time the Romans did not grant the privilege of citizenship to uneducated persons ; moreover the education that they provided for their son shows that destined him for no humble career. It is true that they made him learn the manual trade of a tent-maker, but then it was the custom for every rabbi to know some trade by which he could if necessary earn his daily bread. As a matter of fact St Paul did provide for himself by working at tent-making, and was able to do without any help from his disciples (1 Thess. ii. 9 ; 2 Thess. iii. 8). Perhaps the reason why he had to work was that his family fell into poverty, or perhaps his relations abandoned him because of his change of religion. In any case, the worldly position of the apostle must have improved, for when he was arrested in Jerusalem he seems to have had command of money ; the behaviour to him of the Roman pro-

curators, his appeal to Cesar, his voyage to Rome, and the way in which he lived there, show that he was in a position to bear heavy expenses ; though it is possible that Christian communities helped him.

As a Jew he bore the name of Saul (Desired), perhaps on account of King Saul the best known personage in the history of the tribe of Benjamin ; as a Roman citizen he bore the cognomen of Paul ; we do not know what was his nomen or prænomen, and perhaps he had none. This name of Paul may have been adopted because in some way or other the apostle attached himself to the Roman family of the *Æmili*i whose cognomen was Paul, or merely on account of its similiarity to his Hebrew name : Saul=Paul. Other names are known to have been changed in that way : Jesus=Jason, Joseph=Hege-sippus. Some have supposed that the apostle took the name of Paul from Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, whom he made a convert of. But the texts of the Acts does not favour this supposition, because before the conversion of Sergius Paulus we read : “Saul who was also called Paul” (xiii. 9). From that time forth he is always called Paul because of his connection with the pagan world, whereas while he was with the Jews he went by his Jewish name ; the writer of the Acts clearly intended to call attention to this distinction.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF ST PAUL

Contemporary testimony to the personal appearance of the apostle is scanty, what testimony we have is of later date and does not appear to deserve much attention. He cannot have been strong-looking :

“the bodily presence is feeble” said his adversaries among the Corinthians (2 Cor. x. 10). The likeness painted for us by later tradition was not intended to flatter him: “He was short, bald, bow-legged, well knit, his eyebrows met, his nose was large, he was gracious, sometimes he was like a man, sometimes like an angel” (Acts of Paul and Thecla, 3). From this and from the descriptions by John of Antioch, Nicephorus, and the Philopatris of Pseudo-Lucian, we may conclude that St Paul had an aquiline nose, dark hair turning grey, that he was slightly humpbacked, that his face was pale, very expressive, very winning, that his manner was full of dignity, and that his appearance inspired respect and affection.

He does complain of bodily infirmities (2 Cor. xii. 5-10), yet his constitution must have been vigorous. How else could he have travelled so much, often on foot, with few if any comforts; or how could he have laboured so incessantly by day to earn his bread and by night to preach the Gospel; how could he have stood his many anxieties, his trials, his shipwrecks, his sufferings by scourging and stoning? (2 Cor. xi. 23). “Labour, painfulness, watchings, hunger and thirst, fastings often, cold and nakedness, besides my daily instance the solicitude for all the churches.” Yet he mentions also a sting of the flesh, *σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί*, an angel of Satan to buffet him in order that he might not be made proud by the revelations that had been vouchsafed to him.

Was that sting of the flesh the bodily infirmity mentioned? (Gal. xiv. 13). Some critics think it was. But we do not think so, for that infirmity must have been of a temporary character. How could it be permanent? For any infirmity that exposed the apostle to contempt, or rendered him repulsive, or

was a great trial to his auditors, would have entailed failure in his work as a missionary.

Probably that thorn in his flesh was not, as some have thought, a temptation to sins of the flesh, because (1 Cor. vii. 6-8) he speaks in a veiled way of having the gift of continency. That thorn, for it is a thorn and not a sting, σκόλοψ not κέντρον, was some illness. He speaks a little higher up of his infirmities, and then (2 Cor. xii. 9) he glories in infirmities, which must be those to which he refers in verse 7. What was that illness? Was it cephalalgia, or ophthalmia, gout, sciatica, epilepsy, orator's cramp? We can only conjecture. But it was bodily, painful, humiliating, and it was frequent or even constant, as we may judge by the Greek verbs which he makes use of in describing it and which indicate a permanent state.

Was St Paul married? Primitive tradition does not say, and what we find in his epistles is not very conclusive. Tertullian, St Jerome, St Epiphanius, and St John Chrysostom hold that he was not married; Clement of Alexandria holds that he was, for he says: "Paul in one of his epistles sends a salutation to his own wife." That is a false interpretation of Philip. iv. 3. "I pray thee also σύνζυγε γνήσιε [worthy companion or yoke-fellow] to help them." Is συνζυγε to be translated *companion* or *wife*, or is it a proper name? Whatever the right translation may be, it cannot be *wife* because γνήσιε is masculine. From his exhortations (1 Cor. vii. 8) one would say that he was not married: "I say to those who are unmarried or widowed that it is well for them to remain as they are, as I remain myself." It is true that ἄγαμος means either a celibate or a widower, from which some conclude that St Paul was a widower, and had been married in his youth.

It was the custom among the Jews to marry at the age of twenty-five, as a faithful observer of national customs he should have married at that age. He must also, so it is said, have been married to be a member of the Sanhedrim. In Acts xxvi. 10 he does say : " I have cast into prison many of the saints, and when they were putting them to death I brought my vote [stone]," but he may have meant only that ✓ he approved the sentence, because it is not likely that he so young, a stranger, and of obscure birth, should have been a member of the Sanhedrim, which was an aristocratic body consisting of men of mature age, priests, doctors, and of the most prominent men of the nation (Mark xiv. 53 and xv. 1).

Therefore most probably he was never married, or else he was a widower at the time of his missionary journeys, for he could hardly have undertaken them if he had had home ties. 1 Cor. ix. 5 shows that he had no wife with him.

Of nervous, perhaps even bilious temperament, St. Paul was quick and impetuous. He was very sensitive to impressions, he passed rapidly from one emotion to another, he could tremble first and then be filled with hope, he could pass quickly from anger to meekness, he could be ironical and then affectionate. He knew well what it was to be discouraged, but he was never cast down. His letters contain the greatest possible diversity of emotions, and not one of them—not even the epistle to the Romans—is in any sense a didactic treatise. Sabatier (*l'Ap. Paul*, p. 75) has well described this intense individuality : " Its striking originality seems to consist in the fruitfulness of the union of two spiritual activities or of two orders of faculties that are seldom found combined in one personality. I mean dialectical power and

religious inspiration, the rational and the mystical elements, or to use his own language: the activity of νοῦς (mind) and that of the πνεῦμα (spirit).” “Add to these qualities, says Findlay” (Hastings, Dict. of Bible, 3, p. 699) “the warmth of the heart of an apostle, the ardour of passion and imagination which melted together his mystical intuitions and his logical conceptions, his delicate sensibility, his energy of will, his masculine sincerity, his almost feminine tenderness, the rapidity of his thought, the subtlety of his spirit, his humour, his perspicacity of moral observation, his tact and ability, his genius for organisation, his innate power of command, his gift of vigorous and creative expression which supplied him with an original clothing suitable to his thoughts; all these qualities combined contributed to make of the apostle of Christ the master builder of the universal Church and of Christian theology.”

3. INFLUENCES FELT BY ST PAUL

We have now to see what kind of education St Paul had and how it acted upon his mind and character. Being a Jew, born among Greeks, brought up in Jerusalem in the school of the rabbins, being also a Roman citizen, he was evidently subject to a great variety of influences. It is of course difficult to trace distinctly their effects upon him, yet from his epistles some significant facts may be gathered.

And first, Greek influence was not in his case very powerful. In spite of what some people have said, we maintain that he cannot have studied grammar or rhetoric in the schools at Tarsus. His Greek, as we shall see, is not the literary but the conversational Greek, it betrays no signs of any kind of classical

education, for all the bad grammatical forms that a master would have taught him to avoid, occur in almost every line. It is said that he disdained to employ the learned forms of the construction of Greek phrases, it would be truer to say that he did not know them, or that he purposely ignored them. Neither does he know rhetorical rules; his dialectics have nothing in common with Aristotle's or consequently with ours. It happens sometimes that in order to establish his reasonings in accordance with our logical procedure, one has to transplace his terms or to put them in some other order than that in which he has placed them.

This is not the opinion of all the critics however. Heinrici (Zweite Brief Korinth. p. 451) maintains that in the form and method of the discourse St Paul comes closer to the philosophical style of the cynics or stoics, than to the rabbinical dialectics, and that his argumentations remind one of popular Greek rhetoric and is strikingly similar to those of Epictetus. We do not know that anything of real value can be said on this subject, for it is after all to a great extent a question of taste. But it may be useful to notice that a great number of words and expressions that are used by St Paul are also to be found in Plato. As regards the vocabulary St Paul is the most classical of all the writers of the New Testament. He borrows some terms from Greek life, some from the games of the circus *δρόμος*, *καταβραβεύω*, *πυκτεύω* etc., some from the civic life of the Greeks *ξένος*, *πάροικος*, and some from the equipment of the Roman soldiers (1 Th. v. 8; Eph. vi. 13).

He seems to have known little of the works of Greek authors, for no clear signs of their influence can be discerned in the epistles. He says indeed that

he wishes to know nothing of the wisdom of the philosophers (1 Cor. i. 17 and ii. 5). Nevertheless three quotations occur in the epistles, and a fourth in the discourse in the Areopagus. No one can say that the number of quotations is considerable, besides the passage from the Thais of Menander (1 Cor. xv. 33) as well as the one from the Oracles of Epimenides (Tit. i. 12) were probably proverbial sentences and are found in other authors: the former in Euripides and the latter in Callimachus; the third is a verbal coincidence of six words with Aristotle. The one in the discourse in the Areopagus is no doubt taken from the writings of the poets Aratos and Cleanthus. St Paul distinctly says so and introduces a γάρ which is in the original text but was of no advantage to him in his argument. But do we possess that discourse as it was delivered? Or did the author of the Acts—according to the prevailing custom—correct, ornament, and edit the speech? In any case, these four quotations, supposing them to be beyond question, do not prove that St Paul had any extensive acquaintance with Greek literature. There are some other passages which might betray an acquaintance with Euripides, Æschylus, and Sophocles, but they are hardly definite enough to form any opinion on. It would be an exaggeration all the same to conclude that St Paul was quite unacquainted with Greek culture, that cannot have been the case, because his mind was too open. If nothing in his epistles manifests this knowledge, it is because as he says he would not among his disciples know anything except Jesus Christ (1 Cor. ii. 2), and he preached Him without verbal art or wisdom in order not to take away the power of the cross of Christ (*ib.* i. 17).

We doubt however whether any specific Greek

doctrines entered in any way into the teaching of the apostle. We acknowledge that he has some points in common with Greek philosophy, but they came to him from other sources and especially from the Old Testament. His moral teaching reminds one of the best stoic philosophy, and even of the very expressions made use of in that School; many coincidences can be shown between the epistles of St Paul and the writings of Seneca. "But," says Lightfoot (Ep. to the Philip. p. 300), "I have already ventured to attribute the intense moral sincerity of the stoics to their oriental origin. There would be nothing extravagant in the statement that they owed certain moral maxims and certain theological terms (though certainly not their principal doctrines) directly or indirectly to the flourishing Jewish schools of the period whose doctrines were drawn from the Old Testament." As St Paul drew all his moral doctrines from the Sacred Books, it is not surprising that points of contact should exist between him and a stoicism of oriental and perhaps Jewish origin.

It has been said that St Paul by teaching the universality of salvation, the equality of men before God, and the catholicity and unity of the Church, has realised from the religious point of view the fundamental ideas of Greek philosophy. But we must not forget that this universality of salvation and this union of all nations with the One God, was the teaching of the prophets of Israel, and that consequently he drew from the Old Testament these ideas of which he afterwards worked out all the developments. Besides of course he may have taken them from the teaching of Christ (Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15; Luke xxiv. 47).

The influence of Rome may be discerned in St

Paul in many ways. He knows quite well his rights as a Roman citizen, and makes use of them (Acts xxv. 10). The idea of the prerogative of the Roman citizen repeatedly shows itself in the epistles: "Our participation in the affairs of the city *πολίτευμα* is in heaven" (Philip. i. 27), "Fulfil your duties as citizens *πολιτεύεσθε* in a way worthy of the Gospel of Christ." He makes use of the legal distinction between *cives* and *peregrini*: "You are no longer strangers *ξένοι* but citizens *συμπολίται*" (Eph. ii. 19). His doctrine of adoption is of Greco-Roman origin, his ideas of the Christian being heir of God and co-heir with Christ come to him from Roman law, his conception of the universality of the Christian society comes originally from the Jewish Theocracy, but was also suggested by the vastness of the Roman Empire comprising what was to the apostle the known world.

All these influences were slight compared with that of the Old Testament and of the Jewish theology of the time. The distinction between these two is important, for there are doctrines taught by the rabbis that are not to be found in the Scriptures.

From his earliest years Paul was fed with the Old Testament, he had learned to spell in it at school, and had heard it read and expounded in the synagogue. At Jerusalem under Gamaliel he had been taught how to scrutinise the text and to search out its various meanings. Therefore he became as it were saturated with it, he draws his most important doctrines from it, his ideas of God, of God's justice, of holiness, and of sin come from Holy Writ.

His fundamental doctrine of the unity of God the Creator, centre, and end of the universe is borrowed from the Old Testament. His theology is quite theocentric, everything comes from God and

goes back to God (*cf.* 1 Cor. xv. and the epistle to the Ephesians and Colossians). He continually quotes from the Old Testament, he bases all his principal arguments upon it (Rom. ix. 25-33 and iii. 11-18 and iv. 7-8), and his sentences are constantly charged with reminiscences of it. As many as seventy-five similarities of ideas or expressions are to be found to the sacred books in the first two chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. Textual quotations amount to ninety in that epistle and to thirty-six in the Hebrews. Of these sixty-three are introduced with the formulas: "as it is written" or "the scripture saith" or "David saith." As a rule he quotes from the Septuagint; but sometimes he quotes from the Hebrew text, and this is the case especially in passages where the original fits in better with his argument.

It is not easy to say from what kind of manuscript his quotations are taken, as a rule one would say that it was from one that resembled the Alexandrine, but some seem to come from one that resembled the Vatican Codex. His quotations from Job are not from the Septuagint, some of them seem to come from a text similar to Theodotion's. At times he quotes from memory, or reproduces an aramaic text, thus the quotation Eph. iv. 8 corresponds neither with the Hebrew nor the Septuagint but is similar to the Targum on the Psalms. He loved—like his contemporaries among the Jewish teachers—to bring together passages from many books to support his reasonings: thus in Rom. iii. 10 we find five passages from the Psalms, one from Isaias, and one from the Proverbs, to prove the universality of sin; in 2 Cor. vi. 16 there are passages from Leviticus, Ezechiel, Isaias, and Jeremias, to prove that we are temples of the Living God. There may have existed a written

or more probably an oral collection of extracts from the Old Testament to prove such and such doctrines, a collection that might be called *dicta probantia*.

Jewish theology had also of necessity a great influence on St Paul. His early education was altogether Jewish, we have no reason to believe that he attended any Greek school in his native place. He was sent to Jerusalem probably when he was twelve years old, for such was the custom, and he studied Jewish theology under Gamaleel. He was a diligent student and made considerable progress in the knowledge of the Law of Moses and of the traditions of the fathers (Gal. i. 14). He learned the rules of rabbinical dialectics, and became imbued with the doctrines of Jewish theology. We see the evidence of this in his epistles. We must not enter into details, but we must mention the principal points that indicate Jewish influence in the epistles both in form and in doctrine.

The teaching of the Jewish doctors was imparted by the method of question and answer, as may be gathered from the talmudic treatises, it was based upon the sayings of the ancients and relied upon the mystical and typological senses of Scripture. These characteristics may also be seen in the epistles, they are full of interrogations and of what may be called dialogues, they often appeal to ancient traditions, and the writer expounds Scripture according to the seven rules of interpretation—the Middoth—laid down by Hillel. The passages Rom. v. 8 and viii. 32-34 are applications of the first rule, the inference from the less to the more, in other words: the *a fortiori*. The analysis of words and of ideas held an important place ✓ in these rules, and it is evident that St Paul often employs that method. It must however be admitted

that many of these rules—analogy, *a fortiori*—are so much part of the logic of the human mind that they have been in use ever since man began to reason. Therefore it is not surprising that we should find them in St Paul.

We come now to more special characteristics. St Paul's method of exegesis resembles the rabbinical method in being literal and typological. His principles of hermeneutics and his formulas for quoting are rabbinical. For instance: he dwells on some grammatical detail in order to extract from it conclusions of the highest doctrinal importance. Sometimes the foundation of his argument is very unstable, as Gal. iii. 16 where he argues from the singular "his seed" to attribute to Christ alone the promises that were made to Abraham and to his race, whereas the Hebrew word in the singular designates Abraham's whole posterity. Or again, he takes a passage from its context, and interprets it in a sense that the original text will not bear, as in 1 Cor. xv. 45 where he gives to the word *soul* in Gen. ii. 7 a meaning that it had not; he gives it an allegorical meaning. He also takes allegorically the story of Sarah and Agar, these two women are the two covenants (Gal. iv. 21). In 1 Cor. x. 4 he puts a spiritual meaning on the rabbinical tradition of the rock that followed the Jews in the desert: that rock he says was Christ. Twice over he says that all that happened to the Israelites was a figure intended for our instruction. And it is a rabbinical tradition that he gives (1 Cor. xi. 10) when he says that women must wear on their heads a mark of inferiority on account of the angels.

Nevertheless his originality is very marked, for even when he follows the rabbinical methods of demonstration, his conclusions are not at all the same as

theirs. And when what he teaches is analogous to the Jewish teaching, he transforms it, changing a legal or juridical concept into a moral or religious truth.

There are beyond doubt points of contact between rabbinical and pauline doctrine. It could not be otherwise. No matter how specially enlightened a man may become he cannot divest himself in a moment of the ideas of his former life, all that he can do is to interpret them in that new light. That is what St Paul did: he kept something of what he had learned from Gamaliel, but he transformed it by the power of his own originality and by the revelation vouchsafed to him by Our Lord. ✓

Rabbinical doctrines are found in apocryphal books, such as the Book of Enoch 170-64 before Christ, the Psalms of Solomon 63-40 before Christ, the Book of the Jubilees 50 after Christ, the Assumption of Moses 30 before Christ, the Sibylline Books, the Second Book of Esdras, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Ascension of Isaias, the Apocalypse of Moses, the Secrets of Enoch—these latter books are of more recent date, and are made up partly of Christian additions and of interpolations—and talmudic writings. The first-mentioned books—the apocryphal ones—are fairly well known to belong to dates before the Christian era or to the first century after Christ. The others belong to the end of the second century or later, ideas of earlier date are to be found in them, but the line to be drawn between what is ancient and what is recent is not easy to determine. Therefore one has to be very careful in pronouncing as to the origin of the doctrines that we are going to mention as having been taken from the Talmuds. We intend

not to speak of any but those that appear quite certainly to be common to Jewish writings and to the pauline epistles.

For St Paul and the Jewish writers, the consequence of Adam's sin was death (1 Cor. xv. 21 ; Rom. v. 12), which passages are probably to be traced back to Wisdom ii. 23 and Eccli. xxv. 24, and this idea is also found in the rabbins (Weber Jüd. Theol. p. 247). Another consequence of that sin was that all creation deviated from its path (Rom. viii. 18-23 ; 2 Esdras vii. 75 and xiii. 26-29 ; Enoch xlv. 5.) The law was promulgated by angels (Gal. iii. 19 ; Josephus, Ant. jud. 15, 5, 3 ; Jubilees, 1, 2). The Messiah was to be the mediator between God and men (Gal. iii. 17-20 ; Assumpt. of Moses, 1, 13). Some of the details of St Paul's description of the end of the world appear to have been taken from popular Jewish beliefs or from rabbinical tradition. According to 2 Esdras v. 1-12, Jubilees, 23, and Assumpt. of Moses, 10, the coming of the Messiah was to be preceded by many tribulations (*cf.* 2 Thess. ii. 1-12) ; the Messiah is to come at the last day with His angels and His saints (1 Thess. iii. 13 ; Enoch i. 9 ; 2 Esdras vii. 28). A trumpet is to sound (1 Cor. xv. 52 ; 1 Thess. iv. 15 ; 2 Esdras vi. 23) ; the adversary of Christ (2 Thess. ii. 1-12) is also found in 2 Esdras v. 1 ; Sibyl. Orac. 3, 60 (Weber, *op. cit.* p. 365). On the reign of Christ at the end of the world, and on the Resurrection (*cf.* 1 Cor. xv. 20-28 and Baruch xxx. 39, 72 and Ps. Philo. *Ant. bibl.* p. 296 ; Assumpt. of Moses, 10, 1 ; Jubilees, 23, 50 ; 2 Esdras vii.) ; undeniable resemblances will be noticed, but everything that the Jews take materially is taken spiritually by St Paul. The hierarchies of the angels are almost identically the same in St Paul (Eph. iii. 10 ; Col. ii. 10-15 ;

Rom. viii. 38 ; 1 Cor. xv. 24 ; Eph. i. 21), and in the *Secrets of Enoch*, 20, *Enoch* lxi. 10. The third heaven and the Paradise of which St Paul speaks Cor. xii. 2) have their parallel in Jewish tradition which knew of seven heavens and placed Paradise in the third : *Secrets of Enoch*, 3, 8 ; *Apoc. of Moses*, 40 (*Tisch. ed.*).

It is supposed that St Paul extracted from some extra-canonical book the passage 1 Cor. ii. 9 : " As it is written : eye hath not seen." Origen on Matt. xxvii. 9 says that the quotation is not to be found in any book except the *Secrets of Elias*. St Jerome holds that the apostle paraphrased *Isaias* lxiv. 4, yet admits that the quotation is found in the *Apocalypse of Elias* and in the *Ascension of Isaias*. It is, in fact, almost word for word in the Latin version of the last-mentioned work, but it is quite possible that some Christian copyist interpolated it. It occurs also in a Jewish book of about the year 70 in the first Christian century entitled the *Book of Antiquities* and falsely attributed to Philo, which would only go to prove that the quotation was current at that period and was perhaps borrowed from some anthology of passages from the Old Testament.

We come now to the fundamental ideas of pauline theology, and we have to see how far they coincide with rabbinical ideas. St Paul's doctrine of sin, its origin and nature, and his doctrine as to salvation, have something in common with rabbinical doctrines. According to the latter there is in man an inclination towards evil which little by little grows and becomes so strong that man is unable to resist it (*Weber, op. cit.* 225.) St Paul with a deeper knowledge of human nature proclaims the existence of an evil principle which he calls *ἐπιθυμία* or concupiscence ✓

(Rom. vii. 8) which occasioned by the law gives life to sin: "I see in my members another law struggling against the law of my reason and making me a captive of the law of sin which is in my members . . . by the flesh I am the slave of the law of sin" (Rom. vii. 22.) But these ideas are not borrowed from the rabbis, they are taken from the Old Testament (Ps. li. 5-7.) There is also a resemblance between the flesh *σάρξ* from which comes sin *ἁμαρτία*: "the law of sin is in my members" (Rom. vii. 23) and the evil inclination *yécer hara* of Jewish theology which dwells originally in the flesh.

It has been said that St Paul borrowed his doctrine of the atonement from the Jewish doctors. These taught that the sinner was justified by the merits of the just being attributed to him, by expiatory sacrifices, and by the imputation to an act of a meritorious value that in itself the act did not possess. These conceptions are feeble and vague compared to St Paul's profound thoughts on Christ the Redeemer of the human race by His Death, and on the Christian united with Christ living with His life and participating in His merits. The Atonement Doctrine in St Paul is directly taken from the Old Testament. It is in Isaias viii. that he read of the expiatory sufferings of the Servant of Yahweh.

Predestination and the Resurrection were also taught in the schools of the Jews (Josephus, Antiq. 18, 1, 3, 4; cf. Acts xxiv. 15), but they are also found at least in germ in the Old Testament. St Paul has developed them and made them more clear, and from the doctrine of the Resurrection he has removed the gross materialism of his contemporaries among the Jews. You have only to compare the opinion of the rabbis that the body would rise in

exactly the same state and clothed exactly as it was clothed at the moment of death, with his idea of the transformation of the body from psychic to pneumatic (1 Cor. xv. 42). As to his ideas on angels and demons, he may as easily have taken them from the Old Testament as from the rabbinical schools. Originally they come from the Bible, and he could equally with his contemporaries have discovered them there.

The question arises whether besides the Palestinian Jewish doctrines, he was acquainted with the Alexandrine learning. It seems quite possible that he may have read the book of Wisdom; his description of paganism with its moral corruption (Rom. i. 18) may have been inspired by Wisdom xiii. and xiv.; the passage on the sovereignty of God (Rom. ix. 14-23) may have come from the twelfth chapter. One would say that there are even literal reminiscences (*cf.* Rom. ix. 9 and Wis. xii. 12; Rom. ix. 22 and Wis. xii. 17, etc.). The comparison of the potter (Wis. xv. 6-10) making vessels for clean and unclean purposes, is found in much the same words in Rom. ix. 21, though the object aimed at is different. Compare also the passages: Wis. vii. 22. 9, 6, 17=1 Cor. ii. 6-16; Wis. xi. 23=Rom. xi. 32; Wis. v. 17=Eph. vi. 11; Wis. iii. 8=1 Cor. vi. 2.

Did he know the writings of Philo of Alexandria? Probably not, though there are many points of resemblance between the two writers. But the similarity is slight, and may arise from both of them having drawn on the Old Testament, or from their treating of the same questions and so having to express the same ideas.

From this summary study of the origins of pauline ideas the result that we obtain is that the Old Testa-

ment is the principal source of the Apostle's doctrine, his own religious experience and especially his conversion developed it, and above all it was derived from the revelation made to him by Christ. His primitive thoughts were transformed by these three factors, and the most important of the three is the last-mentioned. Over and over again he asserts that his doctrine comes directly from Christ (1 Cor. xi. 23, xiv. 37 ; 1 Thess. iv. 15), that he had learned what he taught by a personal revelation (Rom. xvi. 25 ; 1 Cor. ii. 10 ; Gal. i. 12 ; Eph. iii. 3). Another important source of his gospel was the Christian tradition as to the life and teaching of Our Saviour. There can be no doubt on this point, for it is possible to extract from the epistles a fairly complete life of Christ, at least as regards the principal events: birth, passion, death, and resurrection. Therefore we must by no means leave out of account the influence of God on the mind of St Paul. We may seem to explain facts and doctrines by the natural play of events and experience, but we never forget the natural or the supernatural impulse that came from God.

4. HISTORY OF ST PAUL BEFORE HIS FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS

St Paul was born probably in the first decade of the first century of our era. He is spoken of as a young man *νεανίας* (Acts vii. 58) at the stoning of St Stephen about the year 32-35, he was therefore at that time between twenty and thirty years of age. He calls himself an old man *πρεσβύτης* in the epistle to Philemon which was written about the year 62, and this must mean that he was nearly sixty years old.

He went to Jerusalem when he was about twelve years old, or perhaps even at an earlier age, if we take rigorously what he says (Acts xxii. 3): "I was brought up ἀνατεθραμμένος in this city [Jerusalem]," and so he might have seen and listened to Christ. But he does not seem to have known Him. Nowhere in his epistles does he allude to a knowledge *de visu*. When he says (1 Cor. ix. 1): "Have I not seen Jesus?" or (2 Cor. v. 16), "although we have known Jesus Christ according to the flesh," he speaks of a vision of the Risen Christ.

Paul was in Jerusalem when St Stephen the deacon was accused of blasphemy against Moses and God. He took part in the condemnation, and the witnesses at the stoning laid their garments at his feet. After this he became one of the most violent persecutors of the Church; he used to drag men and women from their homes and cast them into prison (Acts ix. 2). Breathing death and menaces against the disciples he obtained letters from the High Priest to the synagogues of Damascus ordering him if he found any partisans of the new religion in that city to bring them to Jerusalem in chains (Acts ix. 1). But as he drew near to Damascus a bright light from heaven fell upon him, and he heard a voice saying: "Saul, Saul, why dost thou persecute Me?" He answered: "Lord, who art thou?" and the voice said: "I am Jesus, whom thou dost persecute." Finding that he was struck blind, and receiving an order to enter the city, he obeyed. After three days, Ananias was sent by God to impose hands upon Paul, the latter recovered his sight and was baptised. He remained some time in Damascus with the brethren, and preached in the synagogues that Jesus was the Son of God. Then he went to Arabia (Gal. i. 17), probably to Hauran

east of Damascus. Next he went back to Antioch, and being driven out by the Jews he went three years after his conversion to Jerusalem to see Peter; he stayed there fifteen days, and saw no apostle except Peter and James (Gal. i. 18). He attempted to preach to the hellenist Jews, but they sought to kill him (Acts ix. 29). The brethren took him to Cesarea and obliged him to sail away to Tarsus. From that city he made missionary journeys through Syria and Cilicia (Gal. i. 21). Barnabas went to find him in Tarsus, and took him to Antioch, where they stayed a whole year and instructed a great multitude (Acts xi. 25). He and Barnabas were sent to Jerusalem to take to the brethren there some money collected in Antioch (*ib.* 29) [44 after Christ]. They returned to Antioch, and were sent from there by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel to the pagans (xiii. 2). The two apostles first evangelised Cyprus, where they made a convert of the proconsul Sergius Paulus, and then they landed in Pamphylia. Without stopping at Perge, they went on to Antioch in Pisidia and founded a Christian community there. Being driven from that town, they went to Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, constantly pursued by the hatred of the Jews. Having founded churches in all these places, they went back again the way they had come, fortifying and consoling the brethren and ordaining priests in every church (Acts xiv. 22). When they were back again in Antioch, they made a report to the Church there that God had opened to the pagans the gate of the faith (*ib.* 26). But some of the disciples who came from Jerusalem taught that without circumcision it was impossible to be saved. Thereupon arose a great discussion, and Paul and Barnabas were sent to Jerusalem to confer with the apostles on the subject

(Acts xv. 2). A special revelation came to Paul to make him undertake this journey (Gal. ii. 2). After private interviews with the apostles Peter, James, and John, and after public deliberations, it was decided that converts from paganism were not to be obliged to keep the law of Moses (Acts xv. 6 and Gal. ii. 2). Paul returned to Antioch, and this is probably the time when his dispute with Peter took place (Gal. ii. 14). Then he went with Silas into Asia Minor, visited Derbe and Lystra whence he took Timothy to be his fellow-labourer, and traversed Phrygia and Galatia (Acts xv.). We shall have to see later on what this region really is. Being prevented by the Holy Ghost from preaching in the province of Asia, they attempted to enter Bithynia from Mysia, but were again prevented by the spirit of Jesus. Then they passed through Mysia and reached Troas. It was probably there that Luke joined them. And Paul was admonished in a vision to cross the sea to preach in Macedonia (Acts xvi. 6).

They landed at Neapolis, and went on to Philippi, where they preached Jesus in the synagogue of the Jews. In consequence of a popular tumult they were beaten with rods and cast into prison. Then being set at liberty, they went to Thessalonica through Amphipolis and Apollonia. Another tumult forced them to leave this city where they had made numerous converts among the pagans, and they went on to Berea where Silas and Timothy remained. Paul went alone to Athens, Timothy went to him, but was sent back again to Thessalonica. Paul remaining alone in Athens preached in the Areopagus with no great success. He went on to Corinth (Acts xvi. 18). There he found Aquila and his wife Priscilla, who were of the same trade as himself, he dwelt and

worked with them (Acts xviii. 2). Silas and Timothy came to him from Macedonia (*ib.* 5), and it was the news that they brought to him from Thessalonica that made him write his first epistle to the Christians there. We shall speak of it further on.

5. VARIOUS POINTS CONCERNING THE EPISTLES

In order to understand that part of the life of St Paul in which his epistles were composed, we have various important points to consider. And the first one is whether he was from the very beginning fully equipped with the whole body of doctrines that he has taught, or whether he acquired them gradually through meditation and through his religious experience.

It would be unprofitable to make conjectures as to the interior travail that must have taken place in the spirit of the Apostle immediately after his conversion, or during the three years that he spent in Arabia. We must confine ourselves to the consideration of the more solid materials that we find in his writings. Weiss (*Lehrbuch der Einl. in das N. T.* p. 163) and Sabatier (*L'Apotre Paul*, p. 100) maintain that in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the earliest of his epistles, there is no trace of the dogmatic teaching which constitutes the properly so called pauline gospel. "The great pauline antithesis between Faith and Law does not," says Sabatier, "find any place in these two epistles, and consequently the doctrine of Justification is put forward in them in a more vague and general form. . . . The same is true of the doctrine of Redemption, which we find in some connection with the death of Christ, but only a loose

connection. The Resurrection and death of Christ are placed side by side, but their internal logical unity and their moral significance in the work of Redemption are not brought out." "The primitive type of Paul's doctrine is quite simple. It is only elementarily organised. The ideas in it are always general, and their logical connection is often scarcely perceptible. They can all be reduced to two: the gospel message and the parousia. We shall see true paulinism evolved from them by internal logical pressure, and by the external pressure of the opposition on the part of the judaisers." According therefore to these historians, the properly so called pauline teaching was still latent and undeveloped at the time when he wrote to the Thessalonians. Now, what St Paul himself calls his gospel is: justification by faith, and the call to salvation for all men without distinction of Jew or Gentile, and without the obligation of keeping the Law of Moses. Can anyone maintain that he did not profess these doctrines at that time, when we know that the Epistles to the Thessalonians were written after the Council in Jerusalem? after the dispute with Peter in Antioch? that they were written from Corinth where, as we know from (1 Cor. ii. 2), he had taught Christ and Christ crucified? Besides he had already preached to the Galatians what he calls his gospel, and perhaps had written to them the epistle in which it is admitted that the essence of his doctrine is contained.

Other writers have gone so far beyond this as to suppose that the teaching of St Paul underwent so great a development as to amount to a change; they distinguish four periods in which by degrees he cast off Jewish materialistic ideas, and adopted a more spiritual doctrine of the resurrection and of the end

of the world (Charles "Hebr. Jewish and Christ. Eschatology," p. 377).

What must be admitted is that the Apostle did, as opportunities occurred, make more and more definite his teaching with regard to the circumstances of the parousia of Christ, as to the time of the Second Coming, as to the Resurrection, as to the nature of risen bodies, and finally as to the last consummation in God's plan. He presents these doctrines in diverse aspects, but not in aspects that exclude one another. One need only compare *e.g.* 1 Cor. xv. 28 with Col. i. 16 and Eph. i. 10, in the two latter epistles he proclaims the universal reign of Christ, in the first all things must have their end in God, the Son Himself will be subject to God in order that God may be all in all. There are degrees in the explanation of the doctrine, but there is no change of doctrine. At most might one suppose that in the earlier epistles St Paul expected to be living when the parousia took place (Thess. i. 4, 15), whereas later on (Philip i. 21; 2 Tim. iv. 6) he had given up that hope. This is a mere modification in details which in no way affects the substance of the doctrine, and we shall see when we come to the study of the first Epistle to the Thessalonians that he spoke in general terms, and had no intention of teaching that he would be alive at the time of the parousia of Christ. Besides it is not very clear from the passages that are quoted that St Paul believed towards the end of his life that he would not be alive at the Lord's Coming. We shall have to examine these passages more fully later on. Lastly it is well to remember that all the epistles that we possess, from the earliest to the latest, were written within the space of seven years. That is a period that scarcely affords

room for any great evolution in a man's thoughts.

What we gather from the facts and the texts may be stated as follows. St Paul had a meditative and speculative mind, fond of resting his doctrines on general principles. His conversion, which immediately brought about an interior enlightenment of his soul together with the feeling of his being justified in God's eyes, became for him the starting point of his doctrine and of his gospel. Therefore, when after his retirement of three years in Arabia he began to preach Christ, he was in full possession of his whole doctrine. His discourses in Acts and his early epistles prove it. Yet, being above all things a missionary, and aiming rather at bringing souls to Christ than at speculating in general, he did not attempt to reach precision on certain points of doctrine until he had to find an answer to errors that tended to destroy the gospel. At the same time he made use of dialectics to establish his teaching.

This elaboration of doctrine is very manifest in the epistles. It was by occasion of the attacks of the judaisers that he came to define his doctrine of justification by faith and the abrogation of the mosaic law; then by logical consequence he reached the redeeming value of the death of Christ, and finally the idea of the grace and action of God. This last idea is the fundamental idea of the epistles that he wrote in captivity, in which in opposition to the speculations of a gnostic judaism he establishes the true state of things: God in the highest place, and Christ the mediator between God and men, the first cause and last end of all things. There is therefore a development in St Paul's teaching, but it is in the dialectical explanation more than in the thought.

Another interesting question is whether he wrote other epistles besides those that we now possess. No doubt he did, in fact we know for certain that he did. He refers (1 Cor. v. 9) to a former letter to which he mentions (vii. i) that they had sent an answer. In the fourth century the Church at Edessa possessed a letter from the Corinthians to St Paul and his answer to it; the Church of Armenia possessed them also, and a Latin version of them has recently been discovered and published. This correspondence was no doubt thought to be canonical, at least by the Syrian and Armenian Churches, but it is quite certainly apocryphal and must belong to the middle of the second century. They are not the letters referred to by St Paul.

Probably there was an intermediary letter between the first and second to the Corinthians (2 Cor. vii. 8.) Did it consist of the four last chapters of 2 Cor.? That is a question that we must answer later on. The letter to the Laodiceans is probably the one to the Ephesians which is a circular letter. The letter to the Laodiceans which is mentioned in several documents is apocryphal. The canon of Muratori catalogues as apocryphal two letters of St Paul, one to the Laodiceans and one to the Alexandrians. Some MSS. of the Vulgate—the Fuldensis—have a Latin text of an epistle to the Laodiceans; it is a forgery, and so is the celebrated correspondence between Paul and Seneca.

Finally let us say a word as to the general form of the pauline epistles and as to the manner in which they were written. They have, with few exceptions, a stereotyped form. They begin with a preamble, giving the name of the writer and the name of those to whom he is writing: "Paul the Apostle of Jesus

Christ to the Church of God which is at Corinth," that is the formula that was customary in ancient times. Sometimes the address is quite long as in Rom. i. 1-7. The formula of salutation varies a good deal according to the position of the persons addressed, in one epistle (Gal.) it is omitted, sometimes it is quite long as in Eph. i. 3-14 and Col. i. 3-13. St Paul sometimes joins the name of one or more of his companions to his own : Silvanus and Sosthenes 1 Cor., Timothy, 2 Cor., Philip., Col. ; Silvanus and Timothy, 1 and 2 Thess. It was not always the name of the secretary, though that was sometimes the case, it was some companion that the Apostle wished to honour by associating him with the composition of the epistle. The writer speaks in the first person singular or plural whether he writes in his own name alone or not. In the epistle to the Romans St Paul's name appears alone in the beginning, yet he writes in the plural in places (i. 5 and ii. 2 and viii. 23). In the epistle to the Colossians where Timothy's name appears also, he writes in the plural and also in the singular (i. 24-25).

After this comes the body of the letter, which divides itself naturally into two parts: the one doctrinal, the other moral. At the end comes a conclusion in which St Paul sends greetings from himself and from those who are with him (Rom. xvi. 3-23 ; Col. iv. 10-18). As a rule he dictated, this was the custom in ancient times ; when he wrote himself, he took care to say so (Gal. vi. 11 ; Philemon 19). Once the name of the secretary is given (Rom. xvi. 22). When he had finished dictating, St Paul used to write a few words such as : "The grace of Jesus Christ be with you" and his signature, saying that he wrote it with his own hand (1 Cor. xvi. 21 ; Col. iv.

18) in order that his readers might know his handwriting (2 Thess. iii. 17).

6. LANGUAGE OF ST PAUL

The remarks that we have already made on the language of the New Testament are true in general of the epistles of St Paul, we need not repeat them, but we have to consider what there is special and characteristic in these thirteen epistles which in respect of language are identical. We set aside the Epistle to the Hebrews which has a language of its own. We have to study St Paul's style and vocabulary.

No other New Testament writer except St Luke has so great a vocabulary as St Paul. There are 31,457 words in his epistles, of these 2478 are separate and distinct words, 1662 are common to him and to other New Testament writers, and 816 are found in him alone in the New Testament, and of these 155 are found for the first time in his epistles. Must we conclude that he coined them? We can admit that he did coin some, but not most of them. As we have already said, we do not know all the words either of the literary or of the conversational language of the time. We may therefore be certain that some of these words were in common use, especially as we find them in writers of a date only a little later than St Paul's; others are derived from classical words or are compounds, and need not therefore be considered purely pauline. There remain then the words that have a specific Christian meaning, or that correspond to some particular aspect of pauline doctrine, such as : ἀνακαίνωσις, ἀγνότης, ἀφθορία, ἐδραίωμα, ἐπιπόθησις, ἑτεροδιδασκαλέω, θεοδίδακτος, πεισμονή, συμμορφίζω, ὑψηλο-

φρονέω, φρεναπατάω, etc., altogether about 40 words. There are also words and expressions which he alone of the New Testament writers makes use of, or to which he has attached a special meaning of his own : ἀγαθωσύνη, δικαίωσις, καταλλαγή, μεσιτης, ἄνθρωπος ψυχικός, πνευματικός, κτίσις, καινή, etc. Other words that occur in other parts of the New Testament have a new or a wider meaning in St Paul : δικαιῶσθαι, δικαιοσύνη, χάρισμα, πίστις, πνεῦμα, ἐνδύεσθαι, ἐκδύεσθαι, καλέω, κλητός, ἀπολύτρωσις, οἰκοδομή, etc. Some expressions are also peculiar to him : *to put off the old man, I am buried with Christ, I live with Christ, I am crucified with Christ, etc.*

Grammatically St Paul is generally correct, the licences that we see in his writings were conversational and were permitted in his time. The Greek language was then decadent. Ordinary speech was attic, but did not exclude the forms of other dialects ; and being spoken by people of barbaric origin, it lost something of its primitive regularity. Therefore it is quite likely that all the irregularities that we notice in St Paul were in common use in conversation, grammatically we may say that they are numerous, and rhetorically much more so. There is nothing to show that St Paul had made any serious literary studies, though I know that the opposite view is held by some. His grammar is the ordinary grammar ; as for rhetoric, he simply does not know it. As an instance we may quote Rom. viii. 35 and still more 1 Cor. xiii. where the thought is as beautiful as possible, and the development of it in its various aspects is shown with the most wonderful fertility ; it is one of the most beautiful passages in the New Testament, and yet, if we examine the construction of the sentences, we find that the classical character is altogether wanting ;

what prevails in it is Hebrew parallelism, so much so that we might almost ask whether this is not one of those hymns that the Apostle claims (1 Cor. xiv. 18) to be able to sing.

Only one real solecism has been noticed in St Paul (Philip. ii. 1), *εἰ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμαί*, it should be *τινα σπλάγχνα*. Can it have been customary to use this neutral plural as a feminine singular? How else does he come to use it so? Other passages might be quoted where he seems to have violated the rules of grammar, but in these cases it is possible to offer some explanation (2 Cor. viii. 23): *εἴτε ὑπὲρ Τίτου, κοινωνῶν, ἐμὸς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς συνεργός* in place of *κοινωνοῦ* and *συνεργοῦ*. Notice also the change of form: *εἴτε ἀδελφοὶ* in place of *εἴτε ἀδελφῶν*.

After these preliminary remarks, we come to some grammatical peculiarities in the epistles. St Paul leaves out the article in the expressions *κατὰ σάρκα, ἐν χριστῷ, ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἐν Κυρίῳ*, before *οὐρανός, κόσμος, θεός, χριστός*. He often puts the neuter article *τό* before whole propositions (Rom. xiv. 13): *τοῦτο κρίνατε μᾶλλον τὸ μὴ τιθέναι πρόσκομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ* (cf. Rom. xiii. 9; Gal. v. 14). He alone makes *ἐμαντοῦ* stand for *ἐμοῦ* (1 Cor. x. 33), and inserts the pronouns *ἡμῶν* and *ὑμῶν* between the noun and the article (Rom. xvi. 19): *ἡ ὑμῶν ὑπακοή* (1 Cor. ix. 12; 2 Cor. i. 6); he places *τοῦτο* before *ὅτι* or *ὅνα* which is a pleonasm (Rom. ii. 3): *λογίζῃ δὲ τοῦτο . . . ὅτι σὺ ἐκφεύξῃ*; he joins propositions by repeating a relative pronoun though it refers to different nouns (Rom. ix. 4): *οἵτινές εἰσιν Ἰσραελίται ὧν ἡ υἰοθεσία . . . ὧν οἱ πατέρες καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς* (cf. 1 Cor. ii. 7); he uses the neuter *ὃ* in the sense of *as regards that which* (Rom. vi. 10): *ὃ δὲ ζῆ, ζῆ τῷ θεῷ*; he often joins genitives when the one depends upon the other (2 Cor. iv. 4): *τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ*

χριστοῦ; he uses the genitive with σύμμορφος in place of the dative (Rom. viii. 29); he uses κανχάομαι with the dative of the person and the accusative of the thing with the usual preposition; he puts ἀπὸ after φεύγω in place of putting an accusative (1 Cor. x. 14), ἐνχαριστέω with an accusative (2 Cor. i. 11) in place of ἐν, the middle in place of the active (2 Cor. xi. 2), ἵνα with the indicative in place of the subjunctive or the optative (1 Cor. iv. 6; Gal. xiv. 17); sometimes he leaves out ἄν (2 Cor. xi. 4); sometimes he puts a permissive meaning into the imperative (1 Cor. vii. 15) in which case if the sentence were completed it would be far more regular but far less vivid. It would be worth while to make a study of the many meanings such as *but, though therefore* that he puts into γάρ. And he makes use of ἄρα as many times as all the other New Testament writers put together, often adding οὖν to it; the two together are never found elsewhere either in the New Testament or in profane writers, and ἄρα should never appear at the beginning of a sentence; ἄρα οὖν together occur twelve times in the epistles by way of introducing the conclusion of an argument.

Both in the form and in the connection of sentences there are peculiarities that deserve to be noticed. He often omits the copula καὶ in enumerations (Rom. xii. 9), and often makes no connection between propositions. He makes frequent use of parentheses and digressions (Rom. i. 3-13 and xiv. 6; vii. 1; 2 Cor. v. 7; ix. 9-10; x. 4; vi. 2; Gal. ii. 6), and some parentheses are so long that they become digressions. Take for example Rom. ii. 12-16, in the first of those verses he lays down a principle that those who sin without the law shall perish without the law, and that those who sin against the law shall be judged

by the law. The verbs are in the future tense. He proves the principle in the three following verses with the verbs in the present tense, verse 13 is essential, 14 and 15 are developments, 16 goes back to 12 and to the future tense. Compare 1 Cor. viii. 1-3 and xv. 9-10. Anacoluthons are frequent. They are caused by the intensity or rapidity of thought making the writer lose sight of how he began a sentence, so that he leaves it grammatically incomplete. A digression or a long parenthesis is very apt to produce this defect. Only good writers are able to avoid anacoluthons, because the greatest attention is required if one is never to be guilty in this way. They are to be found everywhere in the New Testament. They are very frequent in the epistles of St Paul, but not at all frequent in the epistle to the Hebrews. The following examples may usefully be quoted (1 Cor. xi. 28 ; Gal. ii. 6) :—*ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι* remains suspended on account of the parenthesis, and when St Paul comes back to what he began with, he alters the construction : *ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκούντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο*. Compare Rom. ii. 17 ; ix. 22 ; xvi. 25 ; 2 Cor. vi. 5 ; 1 Cor. xiv. 14 ; iii. 37 ; Rom. i. 12 ; ii. 8 ; 1 Cor. xiv. 1, etc., in fact the attentive reader will find anacoluthons in every chapter.

The pauline epistles are discourses rather than letters, they were dictated and apparently were not revised in any way. Most of them are polemic, and in any case the Apostle always wrote under the influence of vivid sentiment which made him aim at rapidity, but in this effort he had recourse to ellipses and to pleonasms which in reality produce delay. The ellipses are frequent, *ἐστίν* is often omitted especially in exclamations and interrogations (Rom. iii. 1 ; viii. 27, 31 ; xi. 33 ; 2 Cor. ii. 16), he even sup-

presses ἐσμέν which is very seldom the case in other New Testament writers or in profane authors (2 Cor. xi. 6; Philip. iii. 25). The passage in Rom. xii. 6 is a remarkable example of ellipsis and anacoluthon. The pleonasms are principally repetitions, and they seem to be deliberately chosen for the sake of their rhetorical effect: κοινόν is repeated (Rom. xiv. 14), σου (1 Cor. i. 20), ἀλλὰ (1 Cor. vii. 11), πάντες (1 Cor. x. 1). κινδύνοις is repeated six times in the famous passage 2 Cor. xi. 26. Nor must we omit to mention his use of the *constructio prægna* in which the proposition is attached to a verb which requires another verb to supplement it (Rom. viii. 21). This construction occurs fairly frequently. He also, like other Jewish writers, is fond of paronomases and parallelisms. Paronomasis is a combination of words of similar sound (Rom. i. 29-31): πορνεία—πονηρία, φθόνου—φόνου, ἄσυνέτους—ἄσυνθέτους, and 1 Cor. ii. 13 ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος πνευματικοῖς, πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες, and 2 Cor. ix. 8 ἐν παντὶ πάντοτε πᾶσαν ἀντάρκειαν. There are also plays upon words (Rom. i. 20): τὰ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ καθαροῦται, (Phil. iii. 2; 2 Cor. v. 4) ἐφ' ᾧ οὐ θέλομεν ἐκδύνασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι. The parallelism of phrases is a form of Hebrew poetry, and is frequent in St Paul—Rom. ix. 2:

“I have great sorrow
And continual grief in my heart.”

Rom. iv. 25:

“He hath been delivered up for our sins
And raised from the dead for our justification.”

1 Cor. xii. 26:

“If one member suffers all the other members suffer with it.
If one member is honoured all the other members rejoice with it.”

There is very often an element of antithesis in his

dialectics (1 Cor. vii. 29 ; 2 Cor. iv. 8). Antithesis seems to have been his favourite figure of speech. Every idea suggested to him the thought of its opposite : *the flesh* made him think of *the spirit*, *faith* of *the law*, *works* of *grace*, *man* of *God*. We need not multiply instances, they might be quoted without number, since they occur so frequently. But we must not omit St Paul's habit of linking together sentences by making the last word of one furnish the subject of the next (Rom. i. 1-7 and iii. 22).

It is perhaps time for us now, that we have studied the details, to say something in a more general sense as to the literary style of these Epistles. No comparison is possible between it and the style of classical writers like Demosthenes or Isocrates, for the simple reason that in the form and structure of sentences the two are entirely different. We must not forget that St Paul is not a Greek but a Jew, his mentality is oriental, his education was rabbinical ; and all this has left its mark upon his style. It is very true of him that "the style is the man," it displays all the ardour of his temperament, the dramatic restlessness of his imagination, his power of realising ideas, the closeness of his reasoning, the warmth and tenderness of his heart, the delicacy of his feeling, the strength of his will, the vivacity of his character, the subtlety of his spirit, and hence arise all those characteristic peculiarities that make his style so vivid. When you read him, you can see him before you, and hear him speaking. In a word, if literary beauty consists above all things in the grandeur of ideas, and in creative and intensely living forms of expression, then St Paul is indeed a great writer, so great that we know not anyone worthy to be compared to him. He never pays as much attention to style as to

thought or doctrine, his language being dictated, had to follow his thoughts in all their ramifications ; and if the unfolding of them goes in any order, it is as a rule not the logical order to which we are accustomed. He speaks sometimes with ease, sometimes with majesty ; then some emotion will make him rapid, or precipitate, or bring him to a sudden stop. At other times he speaks in lengthy and twisted and overloaded sentences. He wants to say all that he has in his mind, and not to leave out any one of the great thoughts that crowd upon him without any order apparently. He endeavours to comprise in words the vast horizon stretched out before his mind's eye, and the whole of God's plan as he sees it in creation. Then every word produces a fresh thought, or brings him to a new point of view, and he wants to leave nothing unexpressed, consequently he is ever making new beginnings in his sentences. This is what brings about those interminable parentheses, those subordinate sentences in which the thread of the principal thought becomes lost, and those irregular constructions where the members of sentences are roughly piled up like building materials in place of being arranged in logical or grammatical order.

St Paul is never at a loss for a word, he takes the first one that occurs to his mind if only it is expressive, and he never hesitates to give it a new meaning or to put upon it a shade of meaning of his own. So much so, that it would not be labour lost to compile a list of the various meanings that he has put upon some words in common use, such as : *law*, *faith*, *grace*, *spirit*, *body*, *flesh*, *mind*.

His style is also very variable ; and every epistle, though possessing the same general characteristics, has its own features. This is quite natural, because

St Paul was not a writer but a preacher ; consequently he was subject to momentary influences, and besides he allowed free play to all the impulses that came to him from the spirit of God. It is impossible therefore to submit these epistles to our ordinary rules, or to judge them by the ordinary methods of criticism ; this will come out more distinctly in the study that we are now about to make of each one of them.

CHAPTER II

EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS

1. THE CHURCH OF THESSALONICA

THESSALONICA—now called Saloniki—was founded in 315 by Cassander a little to the north of the ancient town of Thermæ. Situated on the gulf of Thermæ, at the foot an amphitheatre of hills, on a great high-road, it was one of the most important harbours of continental Greece, and the chief town of the second district of the Roman province of Macedonia. Its population was a mixture of Greeks, Romans, and Jews; we are not able to determine the proportion of these three elements, but we know that the Greeks predominated. It was in St Paul's time *Urbs libera conditionis*, a prætor resided there, and the administration was in the hands of five or six politarchs. Its religion was made up of the worship of Greek and Roman divinities which prevailed generally in the Roman world. The ancient Thracian God Cabirus also had his altars. The Jews, always attached to the religion of their fathers and impatiently waiting for the promised Messiah, had drawn to themselves the Greeks who are described (Acts xiii. 26 and xvii. 4) as honouring or fearing God. The moral condition of the town must have been what one would expect in a maritime and industrial town with a mixed and cosmopolitan population.

Paul accompanied by Silas went to Thessalonica

after having been forced by popular tumult to leave Philippi, and preached on three consecutive Sabbaths in the synagogue of the Jews. The burden of his discourses was that according to the Old Testament the Messiah had to suffer and to rise, and that Jesus whom he made known to them was the Christ (Acts xvii. 2). Some Jews and Greeks believed—or according to some MSS. Greeks and proselytes—as well as many ladies of rank in the city. The great majority of the new community was originally pagan, in fact 1 Thess. i. 9 implies that at one time they had all been worshippers of idols, and that there was not one Jew among them, because the Jews are spoken of (ii. 14) as strangers to them. The Jewish converts were not numerous according to Acts xvii. 4, and may have renounced communion when the troubles caused by their fellow-countrymen arose.

Paul taught this youthful church all the doctrine of the Lord, the traditions as he says (2 ii. 2-15), and the way in which they had to walk in order to please God; especially he announced to them the Kingdom of God, what it was, and what was to be its consummation (2 ii. 3-11). How long he continued to preach there is uncertain. The Acts tell us of the three Sabbaths, but do not say how soon the sedition caused by the Jews arose. Some considerable time would seem to have elapsed, for Paul (iv. 16) refers to help having twice been sent to him from Philippi while he was in Thessalonica; and besides St Paul appears thoroughly to understand the mental state of the converts. Finally, the perfection of their faith for which he bestows praise upon them (2 i. 3), and the spreading abroad of it (1 i. 7) would lead us to suppose a stay of some length. Yet it is possible that he was there only on those

three Sabbaths mentioned in the Acts, for our arguments in favour of the contrary supposition are not quite conclusive.

We cannot tell from documentary evidence whether there was any organisation in this Christian community when St Paul left the city, but it was organised when he wrote these epistles (1 v. 12). The presidents whom he recommends them to hold in reverence and affection seem to have met with some opposition, from which we might gather that they had not been appointed by the apostle directly. He may have nominated them after his departure, or indirectly through Timothy. They were new to their position, and chosen from the body of the community, and probably had not had time to consolidate their authority.

2. OCCASION AND OBJECT OF THE EPISTLE

The Brethren at Thessalonica filled with fear at the sedition caused by the Jews, sent Paul and Silas to Berea (Acts xvii. 10). In that place also the Jews from Thessalonica stirred up the people against the apostles. Paul departed, but left there Silas and Timothy, the latter having apparently joined them at Berea. Paul was accompanied by brethren from Berea on his journey to Athens, and Timothy rejoined him there. Being anxious to know how the Christians were faring at Thessalonica, Paul sent Timothy to them (1 iii. 2). By the time of Timothy's return, Paul had left Athens for Corinth, so it was at Corinth that he received from Timothy and Silas (Acts xviii. 5) an account of how matters stood at Thessalonica. The news that they brought was

good, as we see from 1 ii. 19, the youthful community had not forgotten its apostle and longed to see him again (iii. 6), persecution had not produced any evil effects, the seed sown by Paul had borne fruit, the Christian virtues of faith, hope, and charity were so well practised that Thessalonica served as a model to all the faithful in Macedonia and in Achaia (i. 7), they walked in the way of the Lord, they loved one another (iii. 9), they edified one another, the Holy Ghost bestowed His gifts upon them especially the gift of prophecy.

But there was a reverse to the medal. Some were beginning to forget the teaching of the apostle and to turn away from his precepts. His exhortations (1 iv. 3) to them to abstain from impurity show that some of them had gone back to a vice that was so common in the great cities at that time. Others were not ashamed to overcome their brethren in business (iv. 6). Some even lived in idleness, abandoning the care of their own affairs, in spite of his exhortations to the contrary (iv. 11), on the ground that the approach of the coming of Christ made it superfluous to provide for the future (2 iii. 11).

The doctrine that the end of the world was at hand had caused great uneasiness among the recent converts, they were anxious about those who were already dead, and wanted to know whether they would have any share in the triumph of Christ (iv. 13-17). Besides there was the persecution that they had to suffer from their fellow-citizens (ii. 14) and still worse were the insinuations that were being made against Paul and his companions: people said that the Apostle was an impostor, a cheat, a flatterer, a man who was proud, angry, and avaricious; that he never acted disinterestedly or even honestly (ii.

3-12), that he was a coward for running away as soon as persecution made its appearance, that he had abandoned them, that he did not return to visit them, and that he would not have acted in this way if he had really loved them (ii. 17-20).

St Paul meets all these difficulties first by recognising in general the good estate of the community ; and then he defends himself against the accusations of his enemies, these were no doubt unbelieving Jews who being his fellow-countrymen claimed to be better acquainted with the Apostles, he assures the Thessalonians of his love and attachment, of his longing to see them again, he offers them consolation under the persecution to which they were exposed ; then he reminds them of his moral precepts, and finally by way of appendix he instructs them about the end of the world and reassures them with regard to the fate of the deceased brethren. This epistle is written in simple style, *currente calamo*, and though there is a natural order in the thoughts one cannot say that it was composed on a plan.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE

Every student will read the epistle for himself, and will see that it consists of a prologue, a part that is personal (i.-iii.) and a part that contains moral exhortations (iv.-v.)

Prologue (i. 1-10).—Paul associates with himself the two fellow-labourers that are with him : Silvanus and Timothy, and begins the epistle by thanks to God for the fruit of salvation borne by the Gospel among the Thessalonians. He reminds them of what his preaching among them was, with what ardour

they listened to it, and how from them it was echoed in all Macedonia and Achaia.

Personal part (i. 10-iii. 11).—He reminds them of how he had suffered in Philippi before going to Thessalonica, and of how nevertheless he fearlessly preached to them the gospel in a great struggle. He declares that he preached not from error, or any impure motive, or from craftiness, or to please men, but to please God; without flattery, without seeking his own profit, though as an apostle of Christ he had power to be a burden on them. On the contrary he had been mild and gentle, as a nurse with her nurslings. He reminds them of how he laboured both by day and by night so that he might not be a burden to them while he was preaching the Gospel to them. And he claims that his conduct was holy, and just, and without reproach.

He bears witness that they accepted his teaching not as the words of a man, but as in truth it is the words of God. They became imitators of the churches in Judea, and suffered from their fellow-citizens' persecution, just as the Christians in Judea suffered from those who put the Lord to death. These Jews wish to prevent him from preaching to the Gentiles, but the anger of God is upon them.

He longs to visit the Thessalonians, has twice tried to go to them, but Satan has prevented him. Therefore he resolved to remain alone in Athens, and sent Timothy to them. Now that Timothy has returned to him and brought him the good news of their faith and charity and of their wish to see him again, Paul is consoled and thanks God.

Practical part.—He tells them to abstain from fornication, not to live by passion like the pagans,

nor to be unjust in their dealings with one another, to work with their hands, and to live peaceably.

He reassures them as to the fate of those who die before the Second Coming of Christ. "We affirm to you," he says, "in the word of the Lord, that we who are alive shall not precede those who are dead; at the sound of the trumpet, and at the voice of the archangel, Christ will come down from heaven, the dead will rise first, then we who are left will be caught up into heaven, and thus we shall for ever be with the Lord."

The time of the Coming being unknown, he exhorts them to be always ready. They know that that day is to come suddenly like a thief in the night.

He exhorts them to have consideration and affection for those who are placed over them, to live in peace, to comfort those who are discouraged, not to extinguish the Spirit, not to despise prophecies, to examine all things and to hold fast what is good.

Epilogue (v. 23-28).—He prays that the God of peace may keep them without blame until the Coming of Christ, asks them to pray for him, to salute each other with a holy kiss, and adjures them to read out the epistle to all the brethren.

4. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING

If we put together the information that we find in the Acts and in this epistle, we must come to the conclusion that it was written when Paul, Silas, and Timothy were together (1 Thess. i. 1), and when Timothy had come back from the mission on which he had been sent from Athens. According to Acts

xviii. 5 Paul was in Corinth when Silas and Timothy came to him from Macedonia, and he cannot have been long in that city at that time. Although everything seems to be so fresh in the memory of the apostle (1 vi. 9 and ii. 9), and although he speaks as if only a short time had elapsed since he left Thessalonica (ii. 17), still we must allow for a space of several months. For in the meanwhile he had founded a church at Berea, evangelised in Athens, founded churches in Achaia (1 Th. i. 7), time must also be allowed for Timothy's mission and return, and for the fame of the conversion of the Thessalonians to be spread abroad everywhere—which means of course in Asia Minor and Greece. From all this it is probable that this epistle was written some five or six months after he had departed from Thessalonica, that is, in the year 50-52.

We must mention however that several MSS. in Greek, Latin, Syriac and Coptic state that this epistle was "written at Athens." Theodoretus, Euthalius, Walafridus Strabo and among modern critics Schrader and Kohler are of this opinion, the last two authors explaining that it was on the occasion of a second visit to Athens. In spite of these authorities, we maintain that historical facts known to us are incompatible with this view: Timothy must have been with him, and it was at Corinth that he found him (Acts xviii. 5); besides as the Thessalonians served for a model to Macedonia and Achaia, he must have founded a church in Achaia, and we know that Corinth was the first that he founded there. Finally Euthalius says elsewhere that this epistle was written from Corinth. And that is the generally accepted opinion.

5. AUTHENTICITY OF THIS EPISTLE

All the ancient writers who mention this epistle attribute it to St Paul, it is only in modern times that Baur, Schrader, van Vies, Holsten and Steck have called its authenticity in question. The objections that they make we shall have no difficulty in meeting. Besides at the present time everybody except a few Dutch writers says that this is a genuine epistle.

St Ireneus (Adv. her. v. 6, 1 and v. 30, 2) quotes the passages 1 Thess. v. 22 and v. 3, saying that they are taken from the first epistle of St Paul to the Thessalonians. Tertullian (De Resur. 24) quotes as written to the Thessalonians the passages i. 9, 10 and v. 1. Clement of Alexandria (Pædag. v. 19) quotes the words of Blessed Paul 1 Thess. ii. 7 (*cf.* Strom. ii. 11, iv. 12 = 1 Thess. iv. 3-9 and Strom. i. 9 = 1 Thess. v. 21). This epistle was in Marcion's collection (Zahn Gesch. des neut. Kanons, ii. p. 520), it is in the canon of Muratori and in the old Latin and Syriac versions, and finally one can find in early Christian writings expressions and ideas that seem to have been borrowed from this epistle or suggested by it. Compare Barnabas, xvi. = 1 Thess. v. 14, and xxi. = iv. 9; Clement of Rome, I. xxxviii. 1 = 1 Thess. v. 23, and xxxviii. 4 = v. 18; Ignatius Martyr Eph. x. 1 = 1 Thess. v. 17; Philad. ii. 1 = v. 5; ad Polyc. i. 3. = v. 17; Pastor of Hermas Vis. iii. 6, 9, 12, Sim. vii. 12 = 1 Thess. v. 13 and 22; Polycarp and Philip, ii. 2 = 1 Thess. v. 22, and iv. 3 = v. 17.

Language of the Epistle.—The expressions that are characteristic of St Paul are found in this epistle,

Ad. Johannes, pp. 56-62 gives a great number of nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs from this epistle that are found in the same sense in the four great pauline epistles; he compares parallel expressions and constructions, and shows that everything that characterises the pauline epistles is found here also. In the same way, the style reminds one of that of the great epistles, for we see here the same mystical profundity, the same concision and originality. The similarities are so striking and so numerous that Baur and Holsten are driven to say that the writer in order to give a character of probability to his forgery had imitated the language and the style of the Apostle and especially the thoughts and words of the epistle to the Corinthians. This hypothesis attributes to the forger a very remarkable degree of skill, for the resemblance to St Paul is really very great. And did people in those days trouble to copy the language or the style of an author to whom they wished what they wrote to be attributed?

The *hapaxlegomena* are twenty in number, and are in about the same proportion as in the other epistles, the number is exactly the same as in the first epistle to the Corinthians. Twelve of these *hapax.* are words from classical Greek, six only are found here for the first time, viz. ἀρχάγγελος, θεοδίδακτος, ὁλοτελής, πληροφορία, συμφυλέτης, ὑπερεκπερισσῶς.

Some expressions however are found here that are not to be found in the other epistles: λαλῆσαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ii. 2; ἐν προφάσει πλεονεξίας, ii. 5; ἐν βάρει εἶναι, ii. 6; and especially unpauline are said to be: ἔργον τῆς πίστεως, κόπος τῆς ἀγάπης, ὑπομονὴ τῆς ἐλπίδος, i. 3. These expressions appear to have been in current use among the faithful (*cf.* Apoc. ii. 2); if St Paul made no use of them in writing to churches

where the necessity of good works was under discussion, that is because they might have been misunderstood, but there was no danger of that kind at Thessalonica. On the other hand we have in this epistle distinctly pauline expressions: *θώραξ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης*, v. 8 = Eph. vi. 14, etc.

Doctrine of the Epistle.—The aim of this epistle was above all things practical. As a rule St Paul in his epistles taught only those doctrines that were suitable to the state of mind of his readers. That is why in this practical epistle we do not find any unfolding of the doctrines that are so characteristic of the great epistles: justification by faith, abrogation of the mosaic law, Death and Resurrection of Christ, or Redemption. These were not yet ripe. But in germ we find them here. God the Father is exhibited as the merciful author of sanctification (iv. 7; v. 23); through Jesus His Son (i. 10) who is the mediator of this sanctification (ii. 15; iv. 2; v. 28), and through the Holy Ghost the active principle of the sanctification of the faithful (i. 5; iv. 8); the faithful have become *elect* on account of the preaching of the Gospel (i. 4 and 5); in Christ they have faith, charity and hope (i. 3); they await His Coming to deliver them from the wrath. All that is said here as to the parousia is in agreement with what is taught in the epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xv.). He does not indeed say here as 1 Cor. xv. 51 that the living will be transformed before they go to meet Christ, but he says nothing that cannot be made to fit in with that doctrine.

The passage: "We who are alive, who are left for the Coming of the Lord" cannot be brought as an argument against the pauline origin of this epistle. It does not necessarily mean, as some say, that Paul believed and taught that he would be living at the

time of the Coming. For that would imply that he and his fellow-labourers and the faithful of Thessalonica, who were of course living when he wrote to them, would still be living at the Coming; and this would mean that he knew the time of it. But that is contrary to the context, for (v. 1) he says that of the time and the moment nothing is known except the unexpectedness. It is simpler to suppose that as the Thessalonians were anxious with regard to those who were dead, St Paul meant by: "We who are alive" to contrast those who were to be alive at the Coming with those who would be dead at the Coming; the expression "who are left" is in apposition with "We who are alive." The word "We" need not mean only Paul and his companions, it may be taken in a more general meaning, as we see in other passages: thus sometimes he includes himself among the dead who are to rise: "God who raised the Lord will raise us also by His power" (1 Cor. vi. 14; 2 Cor. iv. 14), sometimes he includes himself among the living: "We shall not all die, but we shall all be changed" (1 Cor. xv. 51).

Nevertheless, if by that word "We" it is maintained that St Paul meant that he would be alive when Christ came, then we have a manifest proof that this epistle is genuine, for no forger writing after the death of the apostle could have put that in. It is quite possible however that he believed the Coming not to be far off, that was the common belief of the early Christians.

Historical data.—Baur and other critics admit that between this epistle and the Acts there is historical agreement. The following instances may usefully be given. The epistle is written in the names of Paul, Silas and Timothy, Silas is named in the

second place as in the Acts xviii. 5 and 2 Cor. i. 19. The persecution in the midst of which the Gospel is preached at Thessalonica is mentioned (1 Thess. i. 6 and ii. 14 = Acts xvii. 5 ; *cf.* also 1 Thess. i. 9 ; Acts xviii. 4). The discrepancies that Baur alleges between the Acts and this epistle are refuted by the historical account given above. Besides he himself refuses to believe in the authenticity of the epistle because the agreement between the two is so great that the writer of the epistle must have borrowed both his historical framework and his style from the Acts. We admit the agreement, but we deny the conclusion that he draws from it. For, must the epistle disagree with the Acts to be authentic ?

However, there is a passage that requires to be considered attentively. It is difficult to understand how St Paul could (ii. 14) recall the persecutions of the Christians by their Jewish fellow-countrymen, since he had himself been one of the most ardent persecutors ; or how he could say that God's anger against the Jews had reached the utmost limit, since he loved his own nation so much, and was (Rom. ii. 26) to foretell the ultimate salvation of Israel. By way of explanation we may say that he wrote his epistles under the impression of the moment, and his own recent experiences in Macedonia and Corinth were entirely in keeping with what he says as to the Jews being the murderers of Christ and of the prophets. In spite of his patriotism he stated what was the truth. What he wrote later on to the Romans is not a contradiction of what he writes now to the Thessalonians. In both cases he speaks of the punishment of Israel (1 Thess. ii. 16 ; Rom. ii. 7-15-25), but in the latter epistle he foretells that after the punishment and when the purpose to be reached

by the hardening of their hearts has been attained, then Israel will be saved (xi. 25).

From all this, the conclusion that we must draw is that this first epistle to the Thessalonians is in agreement with the other epistles of St Paul and is authentic.

6. OCCASION AND OBJECT OF THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS

Not long after he had written the first epistle, St Paul was obliged to write the second, in order to explain some points that had been misunderstood, and in order to remedy a state of things that might have wrought injury to the youthful community. He must have heard from the Thessalonians. The brethren were still suffering persecution (i. 4), but their faith and charity were greatly improved. His explanations with regard to the dead had put an end to their anxieties, still they were troubled by certain persons who claimed to be inspired, or else claimed to be able to rely upon some spoken word or upon some written letter of the apostle's, and taught that the Last Day was at hand (2 i. 2). On account of this doctrine some of the brethren neglected manual work, and gave all their time to superfluities and to lucubrations on the near approach of the Coming of Christ, the result of which was that there was disorder in the community (iii. 11). The apostle had therefore to console the brethren under their persecution and to define more clearly his doctrine of the parousia of Christ. Therefore after rendering thanks to God for their spiritual gifts, he assures them that their sufferings are a pledge of their future entrance into

the kingdom of God, that their persecutors will be punished at the Coming of the Lord. He speaks of the signs that are to precede the coming, and prescribes severe measures against those who refuse to work.

7. ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE

The pauline form of writing is more clearly marked in this epistle than in the preceding one: a salutation, then a thanksgiving, next dogmatic teaching, and finally moral exhortations.

The Salutation and Thanksgiving (i. 1-12).—Paul, Silvanus and Timothy wish to the church of the Thessalonians grace and peace; then they thank God for their continual progress in faith and charity which are so great that the apostles are able to glorify themselves in the churches of God on the perseverance of the Thessalonians in the faith in spite of persecutions. Paul explains why Almighty allows these persecutions to arise, to show the justice of His judgment when He will reward the brethren and punish their persecutors at His Coming. Paul prays that they may be worthy of their vocation.

Dogmatic Teaching (ii. 1-12).—He begs them not to be troubled by any spirit (revelation) or word, or letter attributed to him as if the Coming were at hand, because the apostasy must first come, and the man of sin must first be revealed, the son of perdition, the adversary of God putting himself above everything that is called God or worshipped so as even to sit in the Temple and call himself God. He has already spoken to them of all this, and they know what delays the adversary in order that he may be revealed in his time.

Exhortations (ii. 13-iii. 18).—He thanks God because they have been chosen for salvation through the Gospel. They are to remain firm in his teaching. And they are to pray that he may be free to preach, and may be delivered from his adversaries.

Then he exhorts them to avoid any brother who lives in such a way as to create disorder. He reminds them of the example that he gave them when he was with them: he worked to earn his bread and was not a burden to anyone, not because he had no authority, but because he wished to give them a good example. He has heard that some of them refuse to work, he orders them to work and to eat their own bread. If anyone will not obey this order, they are to hold no communication with him, and yet are not to look upon him as an enemy. He ends with a salutation, remarking that it is in his own handwriting and that that will be so in every epistle.

8. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING

It was certainly at Corinth that this epistle was written, because that is the last place where we know that the three who wrote it: Paul, Silvanus and Timothy were together. And it was written not long after the first one, since the state of the church at Thessalonica was as we have seen identical. Nevertheless there are signs of some gradual change, in the second epistle the praise bestowed on the faith of the Thessalonians is more marked, but the tone is less affectionate; time was beginning to do its work. Persecution was more severe, and the constancy of the faithful was greater. Some critics like Grotius, Ewald, Baur, and Renan put this epistle before the

other; it is hard to understand why, for it is waste of time to discuss the reasons that they put forward. The date then of this epistle is about 50-52, or if the apostle alludes (ii. 3) to the persecutions that he suffered from the Jews (Acts xviii. 6-12) then the date would be about 52-53.

9. AUTHENTICITY OF THIS SECOND EPISTLE

Christian tradition is altogether in favour of the genuineness of this epistle, but many modern critics hold the opposite opinion; one cannot help thinking that there is a fondness for novelty in these moderns, because the objections that they make are very easy to answer.

Passages reminding us of this epistle are found in the epistle of Barnabas (xv. 5 = 2 Thess. ii. 3), in the epistle of Polycarp (xi. 4 = 2 Thess. iii. 15), in Justin's Dial. (xxxii. 12 and cx. 6 = 2 Thess. ii. 3). In the Didache (xvi. 4) the appearance of the seducer of the world as Son of God is very similar to the revelation of the man of sin (2 Thess. ii. 3). St Ireneus quotes with regard to Antichrist a passage which he says is taken from the second epistle to the Thessalonians, and (Adv. Her. iii. 7-2 and v. 25) he attributes that quotation plainly to the apostle. Clement of Alexandria (Strom. v. 33) and Tertullian (De Resur. Carnis 24 and Scorp. 13) bear formal testimony also. This epistle was in Marcion's collection, it is in Muratori's canon and in the ancient Latin and Syriac versions.

The reasons alleged against the authenticity are based upon: internal order, history, language and doctrine. Some critics reject the whole of it, some

only a part, some hold the passage ii. 1-12 to be pauline, others hold the whole epistle to be genuine with the exception of that very passage. It would take too long to weigh all the arguments that have been alleged, we will confine ourselves to those that are to this day supposed to be of importance.

And first, there is no opposition of the second epistle to the first; so little opposition is there, that some critics reject it for the very reason that it was forged in imitation of the first one. Spitta calculates that outside of ii. 1-12 there are only nine verses in which no ideas or expressions are borrowed from the first epistle. Weizsäcker, Holtzman, and some other hold that it is very like a copy of the first one. (*Cf.* 1 Thess. v. 25 = 2 iii. 1, 1; v. 24 and iii. 11 = 2 iii. 3; 1 ii. 9 = 2 iii. 8, etc.) But these similarities may be due to the fact that the two epistles were written within a short space of time. Let us therefore pass on to the details, and let us show that the two epistles are not in disagreement one with the other.

St Paul may without contradicting himself have spoken in two different ways of his habit of working with his hands, one way was his saying that he worked in order not to be a burden on the brethren, another way was that he worked in order to give a good example; evidently these two purposes do not in any way exclude one another. As regards the parousia of Christ, the two epistles do not take exactly the same point of view. St Paul does not say precisely in the first epistle that the Coming of Christ is near at hand, nor does he say precisely in the second that it is far off; all that he teaches in the first is that the hour and the moment is unknown, and in the second he describes the signs that must precede it, and refers to the cause of delay. Supposing that in the first

epistle he meant to say that he would still be living at the parousia, that would not exclude the time necessary for the development of the signs mentioned in the second epistle. Therefore there is no contradiction here either.

Besides in 2 ii. St Paul speaks, not of forged letters pretending to have been written by him—this would be incomprehensible at the very beginning of his work of founding churches—but of a false interpretation put upon his first letter. And in iii. 17 he does not put his readers on their guard as to forged letters, he merely gives them a sample of his handwriting according to the custom that prevailed at the time between correspondents.

There is something more tangible in the arguments that are drawn from the literary peculiarities. It has been said that the language of this epistle is not the same as that of the other pauline epistles. But the facts do not support this assertion. This second epistle contains only eleven words that are not found elsewhere, and that is the same proportion of *hapax-legomena* as for the other epistles. Nine of these are classical words, and three are in the Septuagint. It is true that certain expressions are peculiar to this epistle. St Paul says twice over (i. 3 and ii. 13) *ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν* whereas in the first and elsewhere he says *εὐχαριστοῦμεν* (i. 2 and ii. 13). We see also *ἀξιῶν τῆς κλήσεως, ἐπιφανεία τῆς παρουσίας, ἀγάπη τῆς ἀληθείας*. God is here called *κύριος* (iii. 3-5 and ii. 16), whereas in the other epistles He is called *θεός* except in quotations from the Old Testament. Elsewhere Christ is called simply *Κύριος*, whereas in this epistle He is usually called: "Our Lord Jesus Christ" (i. 8-12 and ii. 1) or "the Lord Jesus" (ii. 8) or "the Lord Jesus Christ" (i. 1-12) and sometimes "the

Lord" (iii. 1-4, 5-16). It is not absolutely certain that in the doubtful passages *κύριος* does not mean Christ and not God. We may remark also that this epistle is more impregnated than the others with the style of the Old Testament, so that St Paul might for that reason have used *κύριος* in place of *θεός* according to the custom of the Septuagint. Besides he has done so elsewhere (1 Cor. iii. 5). Moreover these expressions that are supposed not to be pauline prove nothing, for no writer is bound to express himself always in exactly the same way. Quite a number of words and expressions occur only once in the epistles, and there are formulas that occur without any kind of regularity. Thus *τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν* is found seven times in the epistles to the Romans and not once anywhere else. The various epistles have analogous and not identical expressions.

On the other hand, there are some identical expressions in these two epistles to the Thessalonians, for instance *ἔργον τῆς πίστεως* (i. 1, 3 and ii. 2, 11) which is quite characteristic. In this as in the other epistles St Paul loves to play upon words and antitheses (iii. 11 ; i. 10 ; iii. 2-3 ; i. 6-7 ; ii. 16-17) and anacoluthons (ii. 3), parallelism of sentences (i. 6-12 ; ii. 1-4, 7-12, 13-17 ; iii. 1-5, 7-12), the infinitive used with *εἰς τὸ* (i. 5 ; ii. 2-11), frequent repetitions of a word or its compounds: *ἀποκάλυψις* four times, *πίστις πιστός* nine times ; there are here several words that are special to St Paul: *πλεοναζέιν, ἀγαθοσύνη, ἐνίστημι, ἐνέργεια*, etc. ; and particles or conjunctions that he makes frequent use of: *εἰ τίς, εἰ οὐ, ἐάν, ὅταν, ὅτε, ὥς, ὥστε, πῶς* ; and also those that he alone uses: *εἵπερ, εἵτε* which are very often found in St Paul and not in any other New Testament writer except St Peter who has *εἵτε* twice.

The style is much heavier and much more laboured

than in the first epistle. The sentences are longer, less distinct, loaded with conjunctions forming subordinate sentences, and in many cases the last words of one sentence form the connection with the following sentence. Examine for instance the following sentence (i. 3): "We must render thanks to God . . . because . . . and because . . . so that . . . and that" down to the eleventh verse. *Cf.* also ii. 2-11, the warnings as to the man of sin and to what detains him. All remarks of this kind serve only to prove that this epistle is pauline, for that is the pauline style. You must never have looked at the Greek text not to be convinced of it. Compare the very first sentence of the epistle to the Romans and so many others that might be quoted.

It is quite true that to a certain extent the tone is not so affectionate or so personal as in the first epistle, sentences are more measured and less spontaneous. Compare 2 i. 3-7 with 1 i. 2-5; 2 i. 10-12 with 1 ii. 19, etc. It could not be otherwise, because St Paul had no longer the vivid impression that had been produced in him by his being forced to leave Thessalonica. Other grave preoccupations absorbed his attention. Absence and length of time had begun to tell. Nevertheless personal touches are not altogether wanting (i. 10; ii. 13; i. 3; ii. 2; iii. 6-16, etc.).

Last and not least, this epistle it is objected cannot have been written by St Paul because its eschatology presupposes a state of things that was not in existence before his death. The man of sin, the son of perdition, the adversary of God, reminds one of the Apocalypse; either this epistle is based upon the Apocalypse, or it reproduces the state of mind that gave birth to the last book of the New Testament. "The writer," says Holtzman, "was acquainted with the

thirteenth and sixteenth chapters of the Apocalypse.” Rauch maintains that this second epistle was written after the Apocalypse by someone who wished to develop pauline eschatology in the Judeo-Christian spirit. Antichrist and the Beast of the Apocalypse are Nero, who was popularly supposed not to be dead but to be destined to come to reign again. This would bring us to about the year 68-70 when St Paul was dead. We cannot now discuss the origin of the idea of Antichrist, all that we need do is to show that the writer of the epistle to the Thessalonians did not take it from Johannine writings.

It would take too long to state all the hypotheses that deal with the Man of Sin; but we may say that St Paul found the idea in Jewish tradition and adapted it to the circumstances of the epoch in which he lived. The prophet Daniel already knew of a man who was to raise and glorify himself above all the gods, say incredible things against the God of gods, and prosper until wrath was accomplished (xi. 33). Our Lord also spoke of false Christs, of the abomination of desolation in the holy place, of false prophets who should seduce many (Matt. xxiv.). This belief in a false Messiah was common among the Jews in the time of Christ (4 Esdras v. 1-6; Apoc. Bar. xxxvi.-xl.; Or. Sibyll. iii. 63; Asc. Isaïas iii. 23 and iv. 13); it was common also among the Early Christians (1 John ii. 18-22 and iv. 3; 2 John iv. 7; Apoc. xi.-xiii.). On these traditional ideas, which might seem to be approaching their realisation in St Paul’s time, when Roman Emperors enjoyed divine honours, when Caligula had ordered his statue to be erected in the temple of Jerusalem, the apostle built up the edifice of his eschatological anticipations. Who was this Man of Sin? And what was the

power that delayed him? St Paul does not say. That teaching was given only orally, and none of the suppositions put forward up to the present are of sufficient probability to compel our assent to any of them. It is, however, probable that for St Paul the Man of Sin was a false Jewish Messiah, who would act with all the power of Satan, work lying signs and wonders, raise himself up above everything that was called God, established himself in the Temple, and call himself God. All these thoughts were supplied to St Paul by the Bible or by Jewish tradition; the Man of Sin or rather of iniquity *ἀνομίας* according to the best MSS. appears to be a translation of the Jewish Belial whom the Apostle (2 Cor. vi. 15) represents as the adversary of Christ. The apostasy that must come before he can be revealed is that of the Jewish people who having put the true Messiah to death, persecutes the Christians, and thereby opposes the designs of God. Hence the mystery of iniquity was already at work (2 Thess. ii.). What delays the Man of Sin from appearing before his time is the Roman Empire which at that time protected the faithful from the ill will of the Jews. Or perhaps that Adversary calling himself God was the temporal Messiah whom the Jews looked for at that time. More than one man did in reality advance claims of that kind at that period. And yet we may well wonder how a Jewish anti-Messiah could be called *ἄνομος* a word which always means *pagan* in St Paul (Rom. ii. 12; 1 Cor. ix. 21), or how he could depart so far from the Jewish spirit as to call himself God.

No matter what interpretation we may put upon other parts of the prophecy, we must always hold that what delayed the Man of Sin was the Roman

Empire κατέχον or a Roman Emperor κατέχων. And so this epistle must find its date before the reign of Nero, because after the persecution of the year 64 no one can say that the Empire protected the Christians. Besides in ii. 4 the Temple of Jerusalem is still in existence. Therefore the personage to whom this epistle refers originates in no way from any popular belief, or from any event posterior to the death of the Apostle. And this disposes of the most important objection to the pauline origin of the second epistle to the Thessalonians.

CHAPTER III

EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS

ST PAUL remained at Corinth after writing his epistles to the Thessalonians, preaching on the Sabbath day in the synagogue, persuading Jews and Greeks, and making a considerable number of converts. After a stay of about eighteen months, he sailed from Cenchra to Syria with Aquila and Priscilla. He landed at Ephesus, and entering the synagogue spoke to the Jews; they desired him to tarry with them, but he would not consent, and he departed promising to return to them. He went on by sea to Cesarea, went up to Jerusalem to salute the Church, and then continued his journey to Antioch (Acts xviii.). He made a stay there, and then travelled through Galatia—probably through the southern part of the province—and through Phrygia. He reached Ephesus, found there some disciples of John the Baptist, and baptised them in the Name of Jesus. During three months he continued boldly speaking in the synagogue and endeavouring to convince the Jews. But finding that they were obstinately unwilling to receive the faith, he separated himself from them, took the disciples to the school of one named Tyrannus, and taught them there. For the space of two years all Asia—Jews as well as Greeks—had an opportunity of hearing the word of the Lord (Acts xviii.).

1. DATE OF THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS

It was in 55-58, towards the end of his stay in Ephesus, that St Paul wrote this epistle according to our calculation. We know that he sent Timothy to Corinth (1 Cor. iv. 17), and from Acts xix. 22 we learn that it was when he was about to leave Ephesus that he sent Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia. Moreover he says (1 Cor. xvi. 8) that he will remain at Ephesus until Pentecost, therefore it was about Easter time when this letter was written, and this would explain the allusion to Christ our Pasch and the exhortation to purge out the old leaven (1 Cor. v.). We cannot say who was the bearer. It may be that Stephanus, Fortunatus and Achaicus, Christians from Corinth who had gone to visit the apostle at Ephesus, took back the epistle when they returned home.

2. STATE OF THE CHURCH AT CORINTH

St Paul tells us himself (1 Cor. iii. 6 and iv. 16) that he was the founder of this church, nevertheless there may have been some disciples—*e.g.* Aquila and Priscilla—in the city on his first arrival. Corinth the capital of Achaia was at that time at the height of its splendour, though it was no longer the old Greek city of the Bacchiades and the Cypselides, for the headquarters of the Acheian League had been absolutely destroyed by the Consul Mummius in 146 A.C. A hundred years later, Julius Cesar rebuilt it and established in it an Italian colony that consisted principally of freedmen, but in a short time great

numbers of strangers settled in it attracted to it by its situation between two seas: the Egean and the Adriatic, which made it a natural bond of union between the East and the West. Greeks, Syrians, Egyptians and Jews flocked to it, all those who were influenced either by love of gain or by love of pleasure were attracted to Corinth which became one of the most densely populated cities of antiquity. Atheneus in the first century says that it contained as many as 460,000 slaves. Its morality was characterised by the most unbridled licence, so much so that the name of Corinth came to be proverbially associated with the utmost refinements of corruption. The temple of Venus on the Acrocorinth was rendered famous by the thousands of courtesans that frequented it.

And yet, as it was revealed to St Paul later on in a dream (Acts xviii. 10), God possessed in that city "much people." The heterogeneous qualities of the various elements of the population made of the city a point of contact where the new faith could be in touch with the ancient beliefs. Christianity found there a battlefield for its struggle both against Judaism and against Paganism, and it found there also a site on which to build up the new order that it came to establish in the family and in society.

The Apostle immediately set about his work in his usual way, that is he laboured all the week at his trade of tent-maker, and on the Sabbath he preached in the synagogue. We learn from Acts xviii. 4 that in his preaching he used to introduce the Name of Jesus and that he addressed himself to the Jews and to the Greeks. Silas and Timothy whom he had left at Thessalonica rejoined him here. The subjects of which he used to speak were: the principal events

of the life of Christ (1 Cor. xv. iii.), the purpose of His Death, the nature and effect of justification (*ib.* vi. 11), our union in the mystical body of Christ (x. 17), the indwelling in us of the Holy Ghost (vi. 19), the commemorative meal in remembrance of the Death of the Lord (xi. 26), the conditions required for salvation; he thus made known to them the substance of the Christian faith, leaving for a later time the deeper and more mystical parts (iii. 2). Among his converts were Crispus the ruler of the synagogue, Erastus the treasurer of the city, Titus Justus, Stephanas and his family the first-fruits of Achaia, Caius, Fortunatus, Achaicus, Chloe from whose house the news came to St Paul that made him write this first epistle (i. 11), Phœbe a deaconess of the church at Cenchra (Rom. xvi. i.), and many others whose names are unknown to us. The Jews, angry at the progress made by St Paul, launched an anathema against him. In reply "he shook his garments and said to them: Your blood be upon your own heads: I am clean; from henceforth I will go to the Gentiles" (Acts xviii. 6). He then went out from the synagogue, and went next door, into the house of Titus Justus a man who worshipped God. From that time forth the Christians held their meetings in that house.

These meetings took place on the first day of the week. Probably there were two meetings on that day: one in the morning and one in the evening, because how else can we understand the presence of infidels which is mentioned (1 xiv. 23) since we know that they cannot have been admitted to participate of the Lord's Supper? There must therefore have been a morning meeting exclusively for prayer and preaching.

At these meetings everyone had the right to lift up his voice in a prayer, or a hymn, or a canticle, or in order to make known the thoughts suggested to him by the Holy Ghost. That is what was called prophesying (*ib.* xiv. 26). Without going into details we may say that in apostolic times a prophet was not necessarily a man who foretold future events, anyone who spoke under the influence of the Holy Ghost was called a prophet.

Other members of the congregation moved by some overpowering impulse pronounced indistinct words, and these words were interpreted by those who possessed the gift of tongues (xiv. 2-12). We are not able to say for certain in what that gift consisted. The tongue that was spoken was not a foreign language, since there were some among the faithful who were able to explain (xiv. 27), and we cannot suppose that in so small a congregation there were people qualified to act as interpreters for all foreign languages. Whatever the true explanation may be, we know that with a wise and firm man to rule, these gifts of prophecy and of tongues contributed to the general edification; whereas when a church was left to itself, they created disorder and confusion. While St Paul was present there was no danger of confusion.

At the evening meeting, after a meal taken in common, and after hymns, prayers and thanksgivings offered up by the prophets, they held the commemoration of our Lord's Last Supper and Death in the breaking of bread and in the chalice of wine, and all the brethren partook of the Body and Blood of Christ (1 xi. 26).

The Christians increased daily in number. The Jews being angered by this brought St Paul before the tribunal of the Roman proconsul Lucius Junius

Annæus Gallio a brother of Seneca, and accused him of exciting the people to adore God in a manner that was contrary to the Law. St Paul was about to begin to speak in his own defence, when the proconsul spoke as follows to the Jews: "If it were some matter of injustice or a heinous deed, I should with reason bear with you. But if they be questions of word, and names, and of your Law, look you to it, I will not be judge of such things. And he drove them from the judgment seat." Then the Greeks, who hated the Jews, laid hold of Sosthenes the ruler of the synagogue and beat him before the judgment seat, and Gallio cared for none of these things. After this St Paul was able to continue the work of his apostolate without hindrance, and he stayed in Corinth "yet many days."

The converts were both from Judaism and from Paganism, but those from Paganism formed the majority (1 Cor. vii. 18; Rom. xvi. 21). The number is unknown to us, but it cannot have been great, since the meetings were held in a private house (Acts xvii. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 19). There were among them some philosophers, men fond of discussions and of science, as we gather from what St Paul says of those who seek human wisdom (*ib.* i. 18-30). Some were rich, as we understand from their behaviour at the meal in common (xi. 21), but they formed only a minority (i. 26). There were slaves among them, and even men addicted to the most shameful vices (*ib.* vi. 9-10).

It is difficult to say for certain to what extent the church of Corinth was organised when these epistles were written. To judge from the twelfth chapter, it would seem to have been in that period of transition which is described in the Didache where apostles,

prophets and doctors are the leaders of the community; there is no mention of bishop or deacon such as we find in later epistles (Philip. i. 1 ; Tim. iii. 1-12). The part taken in public worship by certain members of the congregation, on the ground that they were endowed with supernatural gifts, seems to have caused disorder and to have been the occasion of the first epistle to the Corinthians.

The moral and religious state of this community, made up of Jews and Greeks in proportions not definitely known to us, made up of persons of every condition in life and of every degree of intellectual culture, was sufficiently complex. The praise bestowed by St Paul on the saints of Corinth "who have been made rich in Christ in all things in all utterance and in all knowledge" (i. 5) proves that divine grace had produced great results; and yet (*ib.* iii. 1) he goes on to speak of them as "not spiritual but carnal." Moreover the condition in which we find this church within two years of the departure of the apostle, shows that grace had not completely superseded nature. The two epistles to the Corinthians manifest both the good natural points and the natural defects of the Jews and of the Greeks who were members of this church.

The Jews, even after their conversion, were deeply attached to the Mosaic Law. This was what had made them a nation, and however great the change in their belief, the love of the Law never left them. They therefore fell easily under the influence of their fellow-countrymen, Judeo-Christians, who came from Antioch bearing letters of recommendation.

The Greeks, fickle, disputatious, full of party spirit, soon gave free play to these congenital defects. Some of them even went back to their pagan habits and to impurity which was so common in Greece and above

all in Corinth. One of them lived with his father's wife—a crime unknown even among the pagans—perhaps in the father's lifetime. Yet such was the confusion of thought in the church that no one protested against this scandal, and this incestuous Corinthian continued to partake of the sacred banquet without anyone suggesting that he ought to be obliged to put away the partner of his guilt (v. 1-3). The Lord's Supper itself was before long transformed, and became one of those festival banquets so well known among the Greeks (xi. 20). In the church in Jerusalem, where everyone had sold his property for the benefit of the community, the food was the same for everyone; but among the Greeks, at the public meals, in the *symposia philica*, each one ate what he brought with him; and this custom was copied by the Christians at Corinth: the rich brought good food in plenty and kept it for themselves, whereas the poor had to content themselves with scanty fare; one man was hungry and another was drunk (*ib.* xi. 21). Therefore says the Apostle "there are many infirm and weak among you and many sleep" (xi. 30).

Women among the Greeks were shut out from public life, confined to the gynceceum, and admitted only to family worship. They found in the liberty of the Christian meetings an opportunity of freeing themselves from the irksome state of inferiority imposed upon them by custom: they were present with their heads unveiled, they prophesied, they had ecstasies, they recited prayers and hymns aloud (*ib.* xiv. 34 and xi. 5).

Finally, the natural eloquence of the Greeks found an outlet in an abundance of spiritual gifts, especially in preaching, which soon transformed the Christian assemblies into public clubs. Some prayed, some

sang hymns or canticles, others preached several at once, then suddenly some rose in a state of inspiration and spoke confused and inarticulate words. And the disorder became so great, that strangers who went in thought themselves to be in an assembly of madmen (*ib.* xiv. 23).

To all these interior ferments, we must add the exterior elements of discord. After St Paul's departure there came to Corinth a Jew from Alexandria named Apollos of whom Aquila and Priscilla had made a convert in Ephesus (Acts xviii. 26). He was eloquent and well acquainted with the Scriptures. He rendered great services to the faithful in Corinth (*ib.* xviii. 27) because he vigorously attacked the Jews in public, proving from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Messiah foretold by the prophets (*ib.* 28). His elegant style of public speaking, and his acquaintance with the Alexandrian exegesis, compelled the Corinthians to institute a comparison between him and the founder of their church; so much so, that although Apollos was far from wishing to take anything away from the influence of the Apostle, he did unconsciously undermine his authority.

Some Judaising Christians probably also penetrated into Corinth, and introduced doctrines at variance with those of the Apostle, and contributed to division and dissension.

In this way arose those parties of which St Paul says: "It has been signified to me, my brethren, of you . . . that there are contentions among you . . . everyone of you saith: I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ" (1 i. 11).

There has been much discussion as to the nature and number of these parties: were there two, or three, or four? St John Chrysostom thinks that St

Paul makes use here of representative names in order to avoid mentioning the real chiefs of the parties. The word *σχίσματα* (i. 10) does not mean schisms in the technical and later sense in which we speak of schisms, it means the same as *ἐριδες* (i. 11), and these are the school differences so common among the Greeks: some disciples attaching themselves to one master, some to another. There was no real rupture, otherwise there would have been no general meeting of the faithful (*ib.* xi. 18 and xiv. 23), nor could the Apostle have addressed his admonitions to the whole body of the Corinthian Christians.

We know from what we have explained above who were the partisans of Paul and Apollos. But who were those of Cephias and Christ? Were the partisans of Cephias converts made by St Peter? Possibly there were at Corinth some Jews who had visited Jerusalem and listened to the preaching of St Peter. But we cannot accept the testimony of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, to the effect that Peter and Paul were joint founders of the church of Corinth. St Paul (1 iv. 15) claims to be the sole founder, and makes no allusion anywhere to any stay of St Peter in the city, though this silence does not exclude the possibility of his having paid a visit to it. Probably these partisans of Cephias were men who had been in communication with Palestinian Jews, and had heard that Peter was the chief of the apostles, and the one to whom Christ had given the power of confirming his brethren. For the time being however they were not in direct opposition to St Paul, nor did they attempt to impose upon their brethren the burden of the Law of Moses or in particular of circumcision; for if they had made any such attempt the Apostle would no doubt have made some reference to it in

this epistle. It is possible also that these partisans of Cephas were Judeo-Christians who opposed the apostolic power of Peter to that of Paul. No danger arose at this time from this opposition. But we shall see that the case was different at the time of the second epistle to the Corinthians.

As for those who claimed to belong to Christ, it is difficult to say who they were. Mayerhoff says that the formula: "I am of Christ" was one that St Paul adopted for himself, Cornely and Bleek say that this was the formula of a faithful Christian. If that is so, then there was no separate party of Christ's, and Clement of Rome (Cor. 47, 1) appears not to have known of such a party, though his testimony cannot be taken as decisive because his argument did not require that he should make any mention of Christ. However the Fathers recognise no more than three parties in Corinth. This interpretation is not grammatically correct; the obvious meaning of what St Paul writes is that those who say: "I am of Christ" are on the same footing as the others. Therefore they formed a fourth party. And this is the generally received view among the modern writers.

We can understand how this party arose, it came from the faithful being disheartened by preferences for this man or that when duty required attachment to Christ alone. This view cannot in itself be worthy of blame, but these adherents of Christ seem to have put themselves in opposition to the rest of the faithful and to have claimed to depend on God alone. They came in time to be the most dangerous party, and we shall see in the second epistle how vigorously the Apostle had to resist them.

Various suppositions have been put forward to explain how these Christians could claim to belong

to Christ and to be independent of the Apostles. Schenkel holds that they claimed to be directly in connection with Christ by means of supernatural visions, Hilgenfeld and Holsten say that they were of the number of the seventy disciples or of the brethren of the Lord who were engaged in preaching the Gospel (1 Cor. ix. 5), Baur says that they were Judaising Christians from Palestine who had perhaps seen the Lord, Reuss and Weiss say that they went beyond the party of Cephas in wishing to impose upon the Pagans the Mosaic Law, according to Godet they made a distinction between Jesus and the Christ, they believed the former to have been accursed and crucified, and the latter to have been a divine being who came down from heaven upon Jesus at His Baptism.

However all this may be, and whatever may have been the origin of these parties, they created no dogmatic differences. The Apostle nowhere reproaches the Corinthians with differences in belief, he speaks only of personal differences.

The state of things at Corinth became known to St Paul in various ways, and especially by means of a letter in which the Corinthians consulted him on a number of points. We learn from 1 Cor. v. 9 that he had written to them an epistle, which is now lost, condemning the conduct of those Christians who practised pagan vices, and commanding them to hold no communion with these guilty ones. The answer of the Corinthians to that letter showed him that they had misinterpreted it, and had given too wide an extension to his prohibition of intercourse with the wicked. They thought that if a Christian was to hold no communication with libertines, he would have to leave this world. How then were they to behave

towards their fellow-citizens who were Pagans? And they asked questions also as to matrimony, celibacy, meats offered to idols, the gifts of prophecy and languages, and the resurrection of the body. We have no difficulty in understanding how they came to feel the necessity of consulting him on all these matters, for questions like these were bound to come up for decision while Christians dwelt in the midst of Pagans.

Finally he had preached to them the Resurrection of Christ, he had told them that the form of this world would pass away and that soon the Lord would come again. The Early Christians lived on the hope of this. They considered that everything ought perhaps to be regulated with a view to this future event. Was it right then for a man to enter into the bonds of wedlock? Ought not those who were married to live as if they were unmarried? Might one still take part in the feasts and solemnities of the tribe or the city to which one belonged? Were the poor who had lived on meats that had been offered to idols obliged to abstain from participating in the *viscerationes* and thus to give up their means of livelihood? Was it lawful to buy meat in the public market? For that involved the risk of buying what had been sacrificed to idols. All these questions were difficulties at that time. But the greatest source of anxiety for the Christians was the fate of their deceased relatives. They being dead would not witness the Coming of the Messiah in His glory, in the clouds, at the sound of the trumpet. How could they come to life and be clothed again with their bodies? Since the philosophers said that matter is always in motion and that what one human body consists of at one time may at some other time enter into the composition of other human bodies. Is the resurrection of the body

possible then ? And lastly they consulted the Apostle as to the manner of making the collection for the saints in Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 1).

What we have said brings before us a picture of the disorder and disquietude that afflicted the church of Corinth three years after St Paul's departure from it. He was solicitous for all the churches that he had founded, and was well aware of all this ; information came to him in many ways : some of it came from the house of Chloë, some perhaps from Apollos who as we gather from 1 xvi. 12 had left Corinth and gone to Ephesus on purpose to escape from those miserable squabbles and jealousies, and some perhaps from Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus who went to Ephesus when Apollos was already there, and were probably bearers of a letter from the Corinthians.

To provide a remedy for these evils, St Paul decided to send Timothy to Corinth (1 iv. 17), but being uncertain whether his messenger would meet with a good reception, he determined to write this letter first. He wished not to go to Corinth himself yet, lest he should find himself under the necessity of taking severe measures. But he was bound to send answers to the questions that had reached him, and he was bound also to take energetic measures against the disorders that prevailed in Corinth. That was the object of the letter of which we are now about to make a *resumé*.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS

After saluting them and wishing them grace (i. 1-9) he treats of three things : morals or discipline, public

worship, and dogma. From i. 10 to vi. 20 he devotes himself to the correction of abuses, then from the beginning of the seventh chapter to the end of the fifteenth he answers their questions, and the sixteenth and last chapter contains personal information and forms the conclusion. Others divide the epistle otherwise. But this is the division that we adopt.

Prologue (i. 1-10).—Paul the Apostle and Sosthenes a brother salute the church of Corinth. He thanks God for the manifestation of His grace among the Corinthians, and bears testimony that they are rich in all knowledge, while they wait for the manifestation of the Lord, and he hopes that they will be found without blame on the last day.

Correction of abuses.—He denounces the parties and the factions which divide them, he establishes his own apostolic position so that he may be able to speak with authority, he shows the absurdity of their ranging themselves under chiefs: Paul, Apollos, Cephas, as if Christ were divided, or as if they had been baptised in the name of Paul, he congratulates himself on having baptised very few of them for thus they cannot say that they were baptised in his name.

He declares that he had been sent by Christ to preach the Gospel and not to baptise. Then he goes on to show how the Gospel has to be preached: not in the wisdom of words lest the power of the Cross be made void, the wisdom of this world is folly since it had failed to make God known to the world, and as wisdom failed it had pleased God to save men by the folly of the Cross. Hence he would not know anything among them except Christ crucified. Nevertheless the Gospel is not folly but wisdom, and this wisdom is to be spoken of among the perfect. The Corinthians were still infants in this respect, and he

fed them on milk. He sends Timothy to them to recall them to the way of Christ; and promises to go to them soon himself, ending with these words: "What do you want? that I shall come to you with a rod or with love?"

The incestuous Corinthian (v. 1-8).—The pagans themselves would not tolerate a man like this. Yet the Corinthians were proud. Whereas they should have wept and cast this man out. Let them now purge out this old leaven. In verse 11 he refers to his former letter, and explains that he had told them not to have no intercourse with the wicked, for that cannot be avoided in this world, but to have no intercourse with brethren who are wicked.

Lawsuits between brethren.—He condemns recourse to pagan tribunals. There should be no injustice among the Christians. But if there is any, it should be settled without going to the public tribunals. Is there no one among them wise enough to decide these cases? Do they not know that the saints are to judge the world and the angels?

Impurity.—He returns to this subject again, in order to give the correct meaning of a maxim that they seem to have taken in a false meaning: "All things are lawful to me," a maxim which they may have learned from his own lips. In matters of food, all things are indifferent. But it is not so with the body, for it is not made for impurity but for the Lord. Their bodies are members of Christ. Will they take the members of Christ and make them members of a harlot?

Answers to questions on Marriage and Celibacy.—He praises celibacy in preference to matrimony, but he advises them to marry so as to avoid fornication; he explains the duties of married persons, and again

advises the unmarried and widows not to marry. He lays it down that the Lord forbids the separation of those who are married, even when the one is a Christian and the other a pagan; but if the pagan insists on divorce, then the Christian is free, because we are not slaves in these matters, and God has called us in peace. What he ordains in all the churches is that every man is to walk as God has called him: the circumcised are to remain circumcised, the uncircumcised uncircumcised, the slave a slave, etc. Then he returns to the question of celibacy. He has no commandment from the Lord, but he advises virgins to remain as they are on account of the calamity that is imminent. Time is short. The form of this world is passing away. Let them be free from care. Married persons are not free from care, they have to please one another. A woman is tied as long as her husband lives, if he dies she is free, she may marry again in the Lord. But he advises her not to marry. And he thinks that he too has the Spirit of God.

Meats sacrificed to idols.—We all know that idols are nothing, and that there is no God but One. But knowledge puffeth up, charity buildeth up. If one who is enlightened is seen sitting at table in the temple of an idol, he may scandalise one who is not enlightened enough to know that the idol is nothing, and the unenlightened man may perish by the knowledge of the one who is enlightened. Then the latter sins against his brother and against Christ. Paul would never eat meat again if thereby he made a brother fall.

From this he passes on to other similar thoughts. He shows by his own example that our conduct towards others should be ruled by the principle of

brotherly love. He has given up his rights in order to place no obstacle in the way of the Gospel: Is he not free? Is he not an apostle? Has he not seen Jesus Christ? Then he had a right to be supported at their expense, to take about with him a woman a sister like the other apostles, and was not bound to work with his hands. But he gave up these rights, and he mentions them not in order to obtain them, for it would be better for him to die than to be deprived of this glory. The reward that he seeks is the gratuitous preaching of the Gospel.

After showing in what way he carried out the work of the apostolate, he goes on to show what use he makes of his liberty. He makes himself the slave of all: a Jew to the Jews, under the law with those who are under the law, without law though he is under the law of Christ to those who are without law, feeble with the feeble, all to all, in order to save some.

He quotes the example of the Israelites who were baptised in the cloud and in the sea, ate of spiritual food, drank of a spiritual rock, and yet with most of them God was not well pleased. All this happened to them for our instruction: in order that we might not commit bad actions or fall into idolatry. "He that thinketh himself to stand let him take heed lest he fall."

Then he goes back to the meats sacrificed to idols. He appeals to them as intelligent men (x. 15). They participate in the body of Christ by the breaking of bread and by the drinking of the chalice. Israel participates of the altar in eating of the sacrifices. He does not mean that an idol is anything. But that the sacrifices of the Gentiles are offered to

demons. He wishes them not to be partakers with demons.

This again brings him back to the saying: "All things are lawful to me." The rule means that we must look not to our own advantage but to that of others. They may buy meat in the market without inquiring where it comes from, and if a pagan gives them an invitation they may eat what is put before them; but if someone warns them that the meats have been offered to idols they must not eat of them to spare the conscience of the man who gave the warning. And whether they eat, or drink, or whatsoever else they do, they must do all for the glory of God, giving no scandal to Jews or Greeks or to the Church

Public Worship.—He begins by praising them for keeping the traditions that he left with them (xi. 2). Christ is the head of man, man is the head of woman. A man must pray with head uncovered, a woman with her head covered on account of the angels. He puts forward several arguments in support of this rule, and finally (xi. 16) lays it down simply that as a fact such is the custom of the churches.

Abuses at the common meal and at the Eucharist.—He cannot praise them for their conduct at their meetings. Even there they are divided. At the meal they show contempt for the church, each one eating separately what he has brought. He gives an account of the Institution of the H. Eucharist. And warns them to partake of it worthily.

The spiritual gifts.—The gifts are enumerated in the twelfth chapter, their value is stated in the thirteenth, and the rules for the exercise of them are given in the fourteenth. The gifts are: the word of wisdom, of science, faith, the power of healing,

the working of miracles, prophecy, discernment of spirits, the gift of languages, interpretation. All these are the gifts of one spirit and are necessary in order that the Christians may be formed into one body. The members of this body have not all the same functions : the first place belongs to the apostles, the second to prophets, the third to teachers, and then follow those to whom the other gifts have been given. Charity is however greater than all the gifts and greater than faith or hope. In the exercise of the gifts, charity must not suffer, edification must be kept in view, everything must be done in order, only one may speak at a time.

Resurrection of the Dead (xv. 1-58).—He reminds them how he preached to them that Christ died and rose again. That is what the apostles preach, what he preaches, and what they have believed. Then how can some of them say that there is no resurrection of the dead? For if there is no resurrection, Christ is not risen, and their preaching and their faith are empty. If our hope is confined to this life, we are the most miserable of men. But Christ is risen. He is the first-fruits of the dead. As in Adam all men die, so in Christ all men shall come to life again. Death shall be destroyed. All things shall be subject to the Son, and the Son Himself will be subject to God, that God may be all in all.

Further arguments in favour of the resurrection are drawn from the baptisms for the dead, from his own sufferings and dangers, and from his battle with wild beasts at Ephesus.

Lastly he puts the question : In what kind of body will the dead rise again? And he answers it by natural comparisons showing how different the body of a plant is from the seed out of which it springs,

and how different is the flesh of animals and men, and how great a difference there is between terrestrial and heavenly bodies. So our bodies are sown animal and corruptible, but will rise spiritual and incorruptible.

Epilogue (xvi. 1-34).—He ordains how the collection for the church in Jerusalem is to be made. The Corinthians are to do what is done by the Galatians: everyone is on Sundays to set aside his offering, so as not to make the collection on his arrival. He will pass through Macedonia and make a stay at Corinth, but now he remains at Ephesus until Pentecost. Let them receive Timothy with honour if he goes to Corinth. Apollos refuses at present to go there. Let them show deference towards those who devote themselves to the service of the saints. Salutations from the churches of Asia, from various brethren, and his own salutation in his own handwriting.

4. INTERVAL BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND EPISTLE

The first epistle did not produce the good result that St Paul desired. The majority of the Corinthians seem to have been touched by his warnings and reproaches, but there was a considerable number of them who refused to listen to him and who continued to question his apostolic authority. It is not easy for us to say exactly what happened between these two epistles, for the documents leave room for more than one combination. We will put before the reader the supposition that we find most complicated, and from a discussion of the facts, we hope to arrive at one that

is less complicated. It will be seen that the events are practically identical in both the suppositions.

It is probable that Timothy made known to St Paul the effect produced by his letter upon the Corinthians. For (Acts xix. 22) Timothy and Erastus were sent by St Paul to Macedonia, and perhaps the former went to Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 10), then returning to Ephesus he explained to the apostle the state of things at Corinth. Whoever it was that brought the bad news, St Paul would seem to have gone to Corinth, the visit caused him sorrow (2 Cor. ii. 1) and some adversary grievously offended him (*ib.* ii. 2-11 and vii. 12). Then he went on to Macedonia and waited in vain for better news from Corinth; as none came, he wrote to them a severe letter with great sorrow and with many tears; and Titus seems to have been the bearer of the letter. St Paul waited at Ephesus for the return of his messenger, but being driven out by the popular tumult organised by Demetrius, he went to preach the Gospel in Troas; not finding Titus there, he went on to Macedonia where he found no rest within or without (*ib.* vii. 5) until he was consoled by the arrival of Titus (*ib.* vii. 6) who told him of the longing and loyalty of the Corinthians for him. They had received Titus with docility and fear. They were filled with sorrow and repentance (vii. 8-16). They had punished the man who had opposed him (2 Cor. ii. 5-11). Still opposition was not altogether at an end, those who called themselves the partisans of Christ had not laid down their arms and continued to deny the apostolic authority of St Paul. In order to put an end to this resistance, and to prepare the way for his return to Corinth, he wrote this second epistle. He gave it to Titus to carry, and entrusted him also

with the duty of making the collection for the poor of Jerusalem.

If everything took place as above between the two epistles, there must have been an interval of about a year between them. But there is some doubt as to three things: viz. the visit of St Paul to Corinth, the epistle between our first and second to the Corinthians, and the personality of the man who offended the apostle.

1. *Did St Paul visit Corinth between the two epistles?* —He says (2. xii. 14), “Behold I am ready for the third time to go to you.” Does he mean that this is the third time he is ready to go, or that he is ready to go for the third time? In 2 xiii. 1 he says: “This is the third time I come to you.” That means that there has been a second visit, but did it take place before the first epistle? For in 1 Cor. xvi. 7 he says: “I will not see you now by the way.” These words cannot apply to his first stay in Corinth which lasted eighteen months. Yet the second visit cannot have been before the first epistle because (2 Cor. ii. 1) he says: “I am determined not to go to you a second time in sadness.” How can he have paid them a visit in sadness before the first epistle? It is true that we may translate: “I am determined in sadness not to go to you again,” so that the sadness refers to a projected visit and not to one that is past. On the other hand we are bound to hesitate when we read (2 xiii. 2): “I have told you before and I tell you again as present for the second time,” only ought we not to translate: “as when I was present for the second time”? All the texts can thus bear two interpretations, consequently this visit must remain problematical.

2. *Did he write another epistle between the first and*

second?—Some passages in the second epistle point to his having written another in between: “I have written this to you in order that when I come I may not be made sad by those who should give me joy. For I wrote to you in great affliction with anguish of heart and many tears” (2. ii. 3), and further on: “If I have saddened you by my letter I am not sorry . . . not because you were saddened but because you were saddened unto repentance” (vii. 8). According to these passages he must have written them a letter where he addressed himself especially to his adversaries and put them to the test (2. ii. 9) to see whether they were in all things obedient. Perhaps it was this letter that made them say (2. x. 10) that he was bold in writing and weak in action. It must have been a harsh letter, for he almost regrets having written and he makes excuses (2 ii. 4 and 2 vii. 8).

Is the letter to which he thus alludes our first epistle? Some critics think that it is. And in truth there is no lack of severity in it (i. 4, 18-21; v. 1, 2; vi. 8; xi. 17-22), some passages might have seemed arrogant (ii. 16; iv. 1; ix. 1; xiv. 8; xv. 8). Yet on the whole its tone is calm. It would be astonishing if he made excuses for a former letter in a second one of much greater severity. Nothing in the first epistle equals in vehemence the last four chapters of the second.

Hence Hausrath and Schmiedel think that in those last four chapters we have that letter of which he says (2 ii. 3) that he wrote it with anguish of heart and with tears. There is a noticeable difference of tone between i.-vii. and x.-xiii. in the one part he is full of gentleness and may be said to offer excuses, in the other he is harsh and even violent; in the first part the Corinthians are reconciled to the apostle, in the

second they are either hostile or in doubt; in the beginning of the epistle the faithful possess abundantly faith, science and charity, at the end he fears to find them on his arrival tainted with every vice; the ninth chapter reads like the last one of an epistle, and the tenth begins: "I myself Paul exhort you" like the first chapter of some other epistle.

We cannot deny that at first sight there is much in this hypothesis that is attractive. But there is no doubt that tradition is against it, documentary evidence is altogether in favour of the text as it stands. And the contrast between the two parts is capable of explanation. The first part is addressed to the brethren who had remained faithful to him, the second part is meant for his adversaries; though in both parts he speaks to the whole church and not to either party. Cornely remarks that Demosthenes spoke in this way in *De Corona*: first he explained his views with great calmness and moderation, and then he attacked his adversary with the utmost possible violence. Besides there are passages in the second part that cannot have been written before the first part: the last words of the last chapter can only be understood if we suppose that Paul after his vehement apology returns to the peaceable tone of the beginning of the epistle. We reject therefore this hypothesis though it does not attack the pauline origin of these chapters. And we do not deny that there may have been an epistle in between these two, but if there was it is probably lost.

3. *Who was the personage referred to in ii. 5-11 and vii. 12?*—Was it the incestuous Corinthian? Formerly everyone thought so. But now it is remarked that the words of St Paul, (ii. 5) "If anyone has caused sadness, etc.," might strictly speaking apply to the incestuous man, but that they seem to imply some

offence offered personally to the apostle, as he says farther on (vii. 12), "I have written to you not for the sake of the offender, nor for the sake of the offended, but that you may show your carefulness for me before God," these words seem to us to have no meaning unless St Paul was the one to whom offence had been given; for if he was not the one who had been badly treated, how would the punishment of the guilty one prove the carefulness of the Corinthians for the apostle? And yet the text is not so clear that the offender may not be the incestuous man and the offended one his father, in that case the Corinthians could still have shown their carefulness for the apostle by inflicting the penalty prescribed by him.

Whatever hypothesis as to the facts be adopted, the situation implied by the facts remains the same. The troubles and divisions of the Christians in Corinth are greater than ever, though the parties of Paul, Apollos and Cephas have disappeared, there remain only those who call themselves Christ's; these claim to be apostles in the highest sense, *ὑπερλίαν* (xi. 5 and xii. 11) and also to be ministers of justice (xi. 15). They claim to be far superior to Paul because they are Hebrews, Israelites, of the race of Abraham, and ministers of Christ (xi. 22), they are armed with letters of recommendation (iii. 1). In reality, he says, they recommend themselves (x. 12), they take praise for the work of others (xi. 15), they enslave, devour, pillage and outrage the Corinthians (xi. 20), they are false apostles and fraudulent workers who disguise themselves as apostles of Christ (xi. 13). They accused St Paul of being changeable, irresolute, and self-contradictory (i. 17-19). From afar, they said, he threatens: "his epistles are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence and his discourse is contempt-

ible" (x. 10), he is a wicked man and he shamelessly falsifies the word of God (iv. 2-3), he is fraudulent and pretends to be disinterested (xii. 16), he has no letters of recommendation, he has had no visions or revelations (xii. 1-10), he is a madman and has lost his reason (xi. 1-16).

By means of accusations such as these, the judaisers had contrived to shake the confidence of the faithful ; it was in order to steady them and to bring them back, that St Paul wrote his second epistle.

5. ANALYSIS OF 2 CORINTHIANS

The prologue (i. 1-11) and the epilogue (xiii. 11-13) enclose between them a twofold apology for the apostolate and life of St Paul (i. 18 to vii. 16 and x. 1 to xiii. 10), and the two apologies are separated by directions regarding the collection for the poor of Jerusalem (viii. 1 to ix. 15).

Prologue.—Paul and Timothy send their wishes of peace to the church of Corinth and to all the saints in Achaia. Paul blesses the God of all consolation. And makes known to the Corinthians the persecution that he was suffering in Asia. He trusts in God and in their prayers.

First Apology (i. 15-vii. 16).—He defends himself against accusations of inconstancy. He wished to visit them on his way to Macedonia, and again on his way back, and then to go on to Judea. If he did not carry out this plan, the reason was not that he was inconstant, but that he wished to spare them and not to visit them in sadness. That is why he wrote to them. If anyone has given offence, they and not he are the ones to whom offence has been given. The

guilty one has been sufficiently punished, let them now forgive him. When he reached Troas, he could find no rest because Titus was not there, therefore he went on to Macedonia. He declares that he preaches the word of God with sincerity, and proclaims that he needs no letters of recommendation to them or from them because they are his epistle, the writing is in their hearts to be read and known by all men. In a beautiful passage he asserts his confidence in the success of his own ministry, and generally proclaims the superiority of the ministry of the New Testament over that of the Old Testament.

He goes on (iv. 1) to assert the purity of his work, he claims to have preached not himself but Jesus Christ, he never loses courage in the midst of tribulations, for he knows that He who raised the Lord Jesus will raise them also, he looks not at the things that are visible but at the things that are invisible because the visible things are temporary and the invisible things are eternal. Let them not receive the grace of God in vain. Let them serve God in patience, in tribulation, in necessities, etc. Let them not contract marriage with infidels.

He ends this apology by again asserting (vii. 2) that he has injured no one, and he says this not by way of accusing them, because they are in his heart to live and to die. In Macedonia he found no rest until Titus came and consoled him by an account of their good dispositions.

The Collection (eighth and ninth chapters).—St Paul quotes the example of the Macedonian churches who out of their poverty have contributed abundantly. They gave thus abundantly because he had so highly praised the generosity of the Corinthians. Now he is sending the brethren in order that when the Mace-

donians reach Corinth they may not find that the praise was unmerited and that the collection is not ready. He is sending Titus—who is desirous of going to them—and two others, his object being to avoid being blamed as to the disposal of this money.

Second Apology (tenth to the end).—He beseeches them by the meekness and the modesty of Christ not to oblige him to make use of the spiritual weapons that are mighty to pull down fortifications and destroy counsels. He begs them to bear with him, he is jealous of them with a holy jealousy; he compares himself with his adversaries and claims superiority over them in every way: in origin, in zeal, in sufferings, in revelations, in successful evangelising. He knows that boasting is foolish, but they have compelled him. He threatens that he will not spare the guilty when he comes. He writes this being absent in order that when he is present he may not have to use with severity the power that Christ has given him for edification and not for destruction.

Epilogue (xiii. 11-13).—He wishes them peace and joy. Let them salute each other with the kiss of peace. The saints salute them.

6. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING

The first epistle was written at Ephesus in the spring 55-58. After Pentecost St Paul went to Troas hoping to find Titus there, but not finding him went on to Macedonia where Titus joined him (2 Cor. ii. 12 and vii. 5). Learning the state of things at Corinth, he wrote the second epistle about the month of September 55-58, for these events would not need a longer period than six months. If however we

admit that in between the first and second epistles he visited Corinth and wrote an epistle, then the space of time between our two would have to be eight or ten months. Perhaps it was at Philippi that he wrote. This is the testimony of the Vatican and Peshitto MSS. Probably Titus and the two brethren who accompanied him were the bearers. We cannot tell who the brother was whose praise was in all the churches, it may be Barnabas, Silas, Luke or Mark. Nor can we tell who the third one was, it may be Luke, Sosthenes, or Timothy. Or they may be men whose names are entirely unknown to us.

7. AUTHENTICITY OF THE TWO EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS

In ancient times these epistles were attributed to St Paul, and it is only in recent times that certain hypercritical writers have questioned their authenticity in part or in entirety. Nor has the modern view gained many adherents.

First Epistle to the Corinthians.—Tradition is so explicit that there cannot be the least doubt of the authenticity of this epistle. At the end of the first century, in 95, Clement of Rome writing to the Corinthians (47, 1-3) refers to this letter and calls it inspired: "Remember the epistle of Blessed Paul the Apostle. What did he write to you at the beginning of the Gospel? In very truth divinely inspired πνευματικῶς he wrote to you of himself, of Cephas, and of Apollos, because you already had preferences." His praises of charity (47) recall St Paul's words (xiii. 1-13). St Polycarp's testimony is quite as clear: "Do we not know, he writes to the

Philippians (xi. 2) that the saints will judge the world as Paul teaches?" (*cf.* 1 Cor. vi. 3). He enumerates some vices of which St Paul speaks (1 vi. 9-10), and asserts with him that they shall not inherit the kingdom of God (v. 3). Other quotations more or less textual or analogous passages may be seen in Didache ix. = 1 Cor. x. 16 and xi. 29; Did. x. = 1 xvi. 28; Did. xvi. = 1 xv. 52; St Ignatius M. Eph. viii. = 1 i. 18, 23, 24; Rom. v. 1 = 1 iv. 4; Ep. to Diog. ix. 2 = 1 iii. 21-26.

St Justin in his first Apology (19) speaks of the resurrection of the body in much the same words as 1 Cor. xv. Athenagoras quotes from 1 Cor. xv. 54 as from the Apostle. St Ireneus quotes from this epistle more than sixty times mentioning St Paul often and the Corinthians sometimes (*adv. Her.* III. ii. 9 = 1 Cor. xi. 4-5; *ib.* 4 xxvii. 3 = 1 x. 2-12; *ib.* 3 xxiii. 8 = 1 xv. 22). Clement of Alexandria quotes it about a hundred and fifty times, and mentions it in these words: "In the first letter to the Corinthians" (*Pæd.* i. 6). Tertullian quotes from it four or five hundred times and sometimes in these words: "Paul in the first letter to the Corinthians" (*De Resurr.* 18).

Heretical writers of the second century knew the first epistle to the Corinthians. Marcion admitted it into his Apostolicon. The Ophites and the Perates held it for canonical according to Hippolytus Philosoph (5, 8). The same is true of Heracleon (*Orig. Com. in Jo.* xiii. 59) and of Ptolemy (*Iren. adv. Her.* 1, 3, 5). The Peshitto contains this epistle, and so do the old Latin and Syriac versions. It is also in the canon of Muratori, which proves at the very least that towards the end of the second century it was held by the Roman Church to be inspired.

An examination of this epistle from the point of view of grammar, literature, history or dogma confirms the testimony of tradition.

In language, style, and in dialectical processes it is similar to the epistles which are acknowledged to be authentic. It stands by itself among the epistles of the Apostle on account of the nobility and distinction of its language, its lofty eloquence, the beauty and variety of its figures—chapter thirteen contains one of St Paul's noblest pages—nevertheless it is marked by all the characteristics of his style and language. We must admit that there is something peculiar in it: St Paul wished to show to these Greeks so fond of fine words that he knew how to write in chastened language. None of his epistles are in so clear a style, or have phrases so neatly turned, or are so closely reasoned. The method of the arguments is more in accordance with the rules of Aristotelian logic than in certain other epistles, *e.g.* the epistle to the Galatians, where several examples of rabbinical dialectics are to be found. In this epistle St Paul states a general principle, discusses the various aspects of the question, proceeding from the general to the particular, then answers the objections.

In spite of this peculiarity, and in spite of the 110 *hapaxlegomena* that we find in this epistle, we find in it also the characteristic words of St Paul's language: αἰσχρός, ἀνέγκλητος, ἄπειμι, ἀπεκδέχομαι, etc. and some of the words that he was the first to make use of as well: ἀπρόσκοπος, ἀρσενοκοίτης, εἰδωλολατρία, ὀφειλή, συνκοινωνός, φανέρωσις, χάρισμα, etc. which occur also in his other epistles.

The style is full here as elsewhere of his special figures: anacoluthon iv. 2, 6, 7, 8, xii. 28; antithesis

1 xviii. 21, iii. 2, iv. 10, 18, viii. 1; asyndetis iii. 15, 16, 17, 18, xiii. 4-8; euphemism v. i. 2, vii. 3; irony iv. 8, viii. 1; litotes xi. 17, 22; parallelism vii. 16, x. 23, xi. 4-5; paronomasis ii. 13, iii. 17, vii. 31, etc. And peculiarities of syntax may be found here similar to those that are to be found in his other epistles.

Beside the dogmas that are more especially taught in this epistle, viz. the Holy Eucharist with its institution and celebration (xi. 23-24), public worship (xiv.), spiritual gifts (xiv. 24-33), baptism (i. 13-17), the importance of Charity (xiii.), the resurrection, its method, and the future life (xv. 35-58), we have here also the specially pauline dogmas—viz. justification by faith, the resurrection of Christ the pattern of our resurrection, and the unity of the Church, Christ being the Head and we the members.

Finally the Acts of the Apostles tell us most of the facts to which St Paul alludes in this epistle: his stay with the Corinthians and his being the father of their faith (ii. 1; iv. 15 = Acts xviii.), his project of returning to Corinth (iv. 17, 19 = Acts xix. 2), the preaching of Apollos (iii. 6 = Acts xviii. 27, 28), St Paul's working with his hands (iv. 11, 12 = Acts xviii. 3; xx. 34), his having baptised Crispus (i. 14 = Acts xviii. 8), his being a Jew with the Jews (ix. 20 = Acts xvi. 3; xxi. 23-26), his intention of going through Macedonia to Corinth (xvi. 5 = Acts xiv. 21). We may therefore conclude with Christian Baur that this epistle carries in itself the stamps of its own authenticity, for it takes us back better than any other part of the New Testament into a living church in process of being formed, and gives us a sight of the circumstances through which the development of the newly engendered life of Christianity had of necessity to pass.

We will not stop to discuss the interpolations or rearrangements that Völter and Hagge have discovered in this epistle to the Corinthians. We consider that they are not worth discussing.

Second Epistle to the Corinthians.—The testimony of tradition as to this second epistle is not very clear before the middle of the second century; there are however some things that remind us of it in the first epistle of Clement of Rome, in the epistle to the Philadelphians of St Ignatius, in St Polycarp's, and in the epistle to Diognetus; the most striking reminiscence is in St Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians (iv. 1 = 1 Cor. vi. 7); *cf.* also ii. 2 and 2 Cor. iv. 14. The beautiful passage in the epistle to Diognetus (v. 8-16) appears to be inspired by 2 Cor. x. 3 and vi. 8-10 by 2 Cor. xi. 24 (*cf.* Theophilus of Antioch *ad autol.* i. 2 = 2 Cor. vii. 1, and i. 7 = 2 Cor. v. 4, and iii. 4 = 2 Cor. xi. 13). St Ireneus quotes this epistle several times, twice by name (*adv. Her.* iv. 28, 3 = 2 Cor. ii. 15, and 29 1 = 2 Cor. iv. 4). Athenagoras (*de resur.* xviii. 1 quotes 2 Cor. v. 10). Clement of Alexandria quotes from it more than forty times (*Strom.* iv. 16 = 2 Cor. ii. 14). Tertullian also quotes it often. Basilides knew it, and Marcion put it in his Apostolicon. These testimonies of ancient writers, and the fact that it stands in the old Latin versions, in the Peshitto, and in the canon of Muratori, prove that as early as the second century it was considered to be canonical.

If we study the epistle itself, we find in it all that characterises the personality of St Paul. He may be said to come to life in it again to show us his absolute devotion to Christ, and his tender love for the children whom he has begotten in the faith; but he allows us at the same time to see his ardent and passionate nature and his bitter irony. His well-known method

of teaching may be seen here as well : personal details are constantly mixed up with general ideas, from a discussion of facts he rises to principles and teaches the loftiest doctrines. While defending his own ministry, he proves the superiority of the New Testament over the Old Testament (iii.), from his personal experiences he draws conclusions as to the future life (iv.) and as to the resurrection (v.), on the occasion of the collection he teaches the Incarnation of Christ and the goodness of God (ix. 8-12).

Moreover this second epistle is a natural consequence and corollary of the first one. The germs of dissension are developed here that made their appearance there, the state of things is much the same, but it is more defined. Events have taken a course that one might have foretold, and the facts are such that with the help of the first epistle one might compose the second, or from the second reconstruct the first. Thus (1 Cor. xvi. 5) St Paul says that he will pass through Macedonia, and (2 Cor. ii. 3) he leaves Troas for Macedonia and in ix. 2 he actually is there. In 1 v. 1-6 he excommunicates an incestuous man, and 2 ii. 6-8 pardons him. In 1 xvi. 1 he ordains how the collection is to be made, and 2 viii. shows that it has actually been made.

The agreement with the Acts is quite as clear : *cf.* 2 Cor. xi. 32 = Acts ix. 23 ; 2 Cor. i. 3-10 = Acts xix. ; 2 Cor. i. 19 = Acts xviii. 1-5.

Though there are in this epistle ninety-two *hapax-legomena*, among others : ἄγρυπνία εὐχαριστεῖσθαι, κατοπτρίζεσθαι, ἐκδημεῖν, ἐνδημεῖν, μολυσμός, σαργάνη, σκολοψ, and some remarkable new expressions : “the God of this world” (iv. 4), “our outward man” (iv. 16), ἀπὸ πέρυσι, (viii. 10) “angel of light” (xi. 14), “third heaven” (xii. 2), we find here also St Paul’s ordinary

vocabulary and especially words that he was the first to make use of: ἀνακαινώω, ἀντιμισθία, δυνατέω, προεπαγγέλλω, ὑπερπερισσεύω, χάρισμα, ψευδάδελφος, which are also found in other epistles. Let us also notice his usual figures of language and style: the anacoluthon i. 7, vii. 5, ix. 10-13; the asyndetis viii. 23, x. 16, xi. 20; the pregnant construction x. 5, xi. 3; the euphemism vii. 11; irony xi. 16, xii. 13; the oxymoron (conjunction of contradictory words) vi. 9-10-14, viii. 2, xii. 5-9-10; parallels vii. 4-5, xiii. 4; paronomasis iii. 2, iv. 8, v. 4, vii. 22.

The lofty eloquence of this epistle, and especially the remarkable character of its final chapters, have been noticed in all ages by Christian writers (St Aug. *de doctr. christ.* 4, 12). Erasmus brings this out well: the figures of the words such as: opposition of terms, disposition of periods, symmetry of members of sentences, similarity of endings, repetition of words, and other similar effects give to the style so much variety, life, and movement that nothing can surpass it. He admires also the logical method: the wisest critics strive and labour to explain the thoughts of poets and orators, but with this orator unheard-of efforts are necessary to seize his intention, object, or purpose; he twists and turns in so many directions, and—be it said without irreverence—he shows so much cunning, that one can hardly believe that it is always the same man that is speaking. At one moment he is like a limpid source, then little by little he becomes impetuous, next like a torrent he carries everything before him, again his flow becomes smooth, the waters spread out like a vast lake, then again they contract into a narrow space and almost disappear to reappear again where one least expects them (Paraph. Dedic.). This judgment of Erasmus may be corrected by

Plummer's (Smith's Dict. of Bible, pp. 656): "The style of this epistle has not been so universally admired as that of the first one. The Greek is unpolished. The narrative is often broken and confused, there is a want of ease and grace everywhere. The thoughts, as beautiful as those of the first epistle, are less well expressed; no passage comes up in eloquence to the first letter. Yet in spite of the feebleness of the language, there is powerful eloquence in this second epistle. The intensity of the contradictory sentiments under the influence of which it was written, has broken the rhythm and the arrangement of the sentences, but they leave an impression of life and of power that a more chastened diction would have weakened. You feel in every phrase that the writer speaks from the depth of his heart—a heart on which Corinth was written."

This second epistle is homogeneous throughout, except perhaps at the end of the sixth chapter. In verse 11 he tells the Corinthians that his heart is enlarged to them, and he begs them to be towards him as he is towards them; then from the fourteenth verse he goes on for five verses to exhort them not to hold communication with infidels; and returns again to his request for their hearts. We must admit that these five verses appear to interrupt the course of thought, but it is not unusual for the apostle to allow himself to be drawn aside by an allied idea, and then to go back to where he broke off. We must say also that this passage is found in the most ancient MSS. and has never been under suspicion. Besides both the ideas in it and the expressions are quite pauline, and it is not impossible to attach them to the context. There is no reason then to see in it a passage from the letter alluded to 1 Cor. v. 9 (Hilgenfeld, Clemen),

or to think that it is not in its right place, or finally to reject it altogether (Holsten, Baljou).

It has been remarked that after having in the eighth chapter settled everything concerning the collection for the poor of Jerusalem, St Paul says in the ninth chapter that it is superfluous to write to the Corinthians on this subject, yet goes on to give them reasons for contributing generously. Hence it has been thought that this chapter was not in its right place, or was a note written by the Apostle under other circumstances. This hypothesis is quite useless, for it is more simple to say that St Paul after settling what we may call the material details of the collection, rises according to his wont to more general considerations.

At the same time, it is quite possible that this epistle was written with intervals, this would explain the want of connection between its parts and the profound difference of tone between the first part and the third. This is however only a supposition, of which there is no positive proof.

The effect produced by the epistle is not known to us. We gather that it was good, and that the Corinthians satisfied the Apostle in every way, because the visit of which he speaks to them was actually made (Acts xx. 2), and also because in the epistle to the Romans which was written at Corinth he writes with serenity and makes no allusion to his being in any difficult situation. Nevertheless some germs of dissension must have remained in the church of Corinth, for towards the end of the first century Clement of Rome wrote to the Corinthians in the name of the Roman Church to exhort them to peace and to reverence for their chiefs.

CHAPTER IV

EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

THIS is one of the most important epistles of St Paul both as regards history and as regards dogma. For it is full of detailed and exact information as to his vocation, and as to his relations with the first apostles and with the Christians of Jerusalem; and this is information that cannot so well be found anywhere else. His teaching is outlined here, and the outline is filled in in the epistle to the Romans. This is also the most difficult epistle to understand, first because we do not know the circumstance that formed the occasion for it, and secondly because the apostle writing to Christians with whom he had had frequent relations, to whom he had long given catechetical instruction, often speaks by way of allusion, and gives only the main lines of his doctrine on justification and on the dying out of the Mosaic Law, knowing of course that those to whom he writes were familiar with his ideas. We are not able to say for certain either at what date this epistle was written as compared with the dates of other epistles. We place it after those to the Corinthians, not because we believe it to have been written after them as we shall explain farther on, but because we wish to bring it near to the epistle to the Romans to which it is undoubtedly closely allied.

1. TO WHOM WAS IT ADDRESSED ?

The heading contains the words : “ to the churches

of Galatia," and the Apostle calls his readers: "senseless Galatians" (iii. 1). Now in St Paul's time, that word Galatia meant a Roman province of that name which contained men belonging to very various races: Galatians, Phrygians, Pisidians and Lycaonians. To whom of all these was it addressed? Before we give any answer to that question, let us state in what way that province of Galatia came to be formed.

About the year 278-277 the Gauls invaded Asia Minor, overran the country spreading devastation everywhere, and at last about 232 settled down in a region which before that time belonged partly to Phrygia and partly to Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. From the invaders it received the name of Galatia. About twenty thousand Gauls entered Asia. Others joined them later on. But they must have formed only a minority in a country of 8000 kilometres. They became the aristocracy and settled not in the towns but in the country, and made the native population work for them, allowing the natives to keep two-thirds of what the land produced. They soon became fused with their subjects, for about 189 before Christ the consul Manlius Vulso says that they were *mixti et Gallogræci*. Galatia therefore contained Gauls, Phrygians, Greeks, and also in St Paul's time Romans. There were also some Jews, emigrants from the Jewish colonies established in Phrygia by the Seleucidæ. The Gauls led a pastoral life, whereas the Greeks, Romans and Jews dwelt principally in the towns. The principal towns were Ancyra, Pessinonte and Tavium. We do not know to what extent the Gauls adopted the religion or the customs of the country. Sacerdotal functions in the Phrygian temples were performed by Gauls, these were probably noblemen who took possession of the immense in-

fluence attached to the rank of king-priests in the national temples. But the bulk of the invaders remained faithful to its gods, and even to its language, since St Jerome tells us that in the fourth century the inhabitants spoke a language similar to that of Treves.

In the year 25 A.C., after occurrences of which we need not give any account here, on the death of Amyntas the last king of the Galatians, the Roman province of Galatia was formed. In St Paul's time it comprised besides Galatia proper, Paphlagonia, Pisidia, parts of Pontus, of Phrygia, of Lycaonia and of Isauria. This province belonged to the Emperor, and was governed by a legate *proprætor* of pretorian rank, and his residence was at Ancyra the capital of Galatia.

We must now say something of the southern part of Roman Galatia: Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Isauria, which St Paul evangelised during his first missionary journey. We wish we could tell how the population of these parts was composed, but our information on that point is very vague and indefinite.

From Perge in Pamphylia, St Paul crossed the lower spurs of Mount Taurus, and reached Antioch of Pisidia which as well as Iconium is situated in Phrygian territory, but the former is near Pisidia, and the latter is near Lycaonia. Antioch, being a Roman colony, was a place of considerable importance at that time; strangers, Romans, Greeks and Jews were there in great numbers. A lunar divinity named Askænos was the object of worship, and all the Phrygian superstitions were still believed in by many. Women enjoyed great power and influence.

Iconium was also a Roman colony, and numbers of Romans, Greeks and Jews dwelt there. Lycaonia, where St Paul evangelised the important cities of

Lystra and Derbe, both of them Roman colonies, was a land of elevated plateaux, where the population was poor and simple and pastoral. Jews were not numerous. And the old Greek legends were still held in reverence.

Such was the condition of the Roman province of Galatia in the time of St Paul. Now let us consider his various journeys in that country. During his first missionary journey he and Barnabas evangelised the island of Cyprus, crossed over to Asia Minor and preached Christ at the risk of their lives at Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium in Phrygia, at Derbe and Lystra in Lycaonia, and then went back by Lystra, Iconium and Antioch. Acts xiii. and xiv. give a full and detailed account of the evangelisation of all these places with all the episodes that occurred in the course of it. In his second missionary journey St Paul alone visited the churches of Syria and Cilicia, went to Derbe and Lystra, then being prevented by the Holy Ghost from preaching in the province of Asia (Acts xvi. 6), he went through Phrygia and the Galatic region *γαλατικὴ χώρα*, and went on to Mysia. In his third missionary journey (Acts xviii. 23) he started from Antioch, went through the Galatic region and Phrygia, and then went on to Ephesus.

Our first difficulty is to understand what is meant by Galatic region. Is it Galatia properly so called, or is it the phrygio-galatic region, that is the southern part of the province of Galatia? Ramsay adopts the latter interpretation, and if he is correct, St Paul never evangelised Galatia proper, and consequently this epistle must have been addressed to the churches of southern Galatia.

The texts are not plain enough to settle this question definitely. They are capable of more than

one interpretation. Acts xv. 41-xvi. 7 tell us that St Paul and his companions went through Syria and Cilicia, went to Derbe and Lystra, were prevented by the Holy Ghost from preaching in Asia, went through Phrygia and the Galatic region (phrygio-galatic). When they were near Mysia, they wished to go into Bithynia, but the spirit of Jesus would not permit them. Again, in chapter xviii. 23 St Paul leaves Antioch and goes through first the Galatic region and then through Phrygia.

Galatia proper can hardly be what St Luke intended to speak of, otherwise he would not have employed the unusual expression: Galatic region. Besides in the missionary journey in xvi. 6 the country through which they went is called phrygio-galatic *διελθόντες δὲ τὴν φρυγίαν καὶ γαλατικὴν χώραν*, the words *φρυγίαν* and *γαλατικὴν* are adjectives, because there is no article before *γαλατικὴν*. However some interpreters take *φρυγίαν* for a noun and translate "Paul traversed Phrygia and the Galatic region." Neither grammar nor custom can settle the question, for examples may be found in St Luke in favour of either way of translating. The opposite order is found in xviii. 23 in another missionary journey, the Galatic region comes first, and Phrygia comes next. If we admit that in both places St Luke speaks of the southern part of the Roman province of Galatia, both expressions can be seen to fit in with the geography of the country.

After visiting Derbe and Lystra, St Paul went through the phrygio-galatic region, viz. that part of Phrygia which belonged to the province of Galatia, and probably reached Antioch of Pisidia. Then he went through the province of Asia, for he was not forbidden to pass through it though he was prevented from preaching in it. When he was near Mysia, he

wished to enter Bithynia, but was again prevented. In his second journey (xviii. 23) he was going from Antioch to Ephesus, the most direct route was through the Galatic region (the south of Galatia) and Phrygia. If in both journeys it be insisted upon that Galatia proper is intended by the Acts, St Paul's itinerary becomes incomprehensible. If he left Galatia intending to go to Bithynia, there was no reason why he should go as far as Mysia, because all the way from Galatia to Mysia he was walking along the borders of Bithynia.

We must admit that though our interpretation of this passage is geographically true, it presents grammatical difficulties. The most serious of these is the construction of the phrase (Acts xvi. 6) where *κωλυθεντες* *being prevented* is an aorist participle. This usually implies an action anterior to the preceding verb. It would seem therefore that they passed through the phrygio-galatic region after they had been prevented from preaching. And this would destroy our interpretation. But Burton quotes several passages where an aorist participle stands for an action performed after that of the principal verbs (Acts xvi. 23 and xxii. 24 and xxiii. 35 and xxv. 13). Let us acknowledge also that in spite of the arguments stated above, we cannot positively assert that the Acts leave no room for a journey of St Paul into Galatia proper; it remains possible that he visited and evangelised twice (Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23). Does it follow that this epistle to the Galatians was addressed to the inhabitants of Galatia proper? That is the question that we must now attempt to solve. We will give an impartial *résumé* of the arguments put forward by both sides. And first those that are in favour of Southern Galatia,

We know in the fullest detail all about the evangelisation of Southern Galatia (Acts xiii. and 14), these churches are further mentioned in Acts xvi. and xviii.; whereas of the churches in Galatia proper, admitting that *Galatical region* means Galatia proper, the Acts say nothing whatever—not even that St Paul founded them. It would be astonishing if St Luke, whose purpose was to show forth the development of the Christian Church, spoke of St Paul's passing through that country, without mentioning that he founded churches in it; especially as they must have been important churches for the Apostle to write to them one of his most important epistles. Nothing is known to us concerning these churches, and Ramsay maintains that there is no mention of bishops in that country until the fourth century. And on the other hand, if this epistle was addressed to the Northern Galatians, then no mention is ever made in the epistles of St Paul of these Southern churches of which we know so fully how he laboured to found them, and how he thought them of sufficient importance to visit them twice after he had established them.

We shall see that this epistle was written for the purpose of counteracting the efforts of emissaries of the Jews who attacked St Paul's authority in the churches that he had founded, and endeavoured to persuade the new made converts that circumcision was necessary for justification. These emissaries came from Jerusalem or Antioch. Can we suppose that they, following the Apostle step by step, came across—as they could not but come across—the churches in the south of Galatia which were in a very flourishing condition, much loved by their founder, established in cities where the Jews were

numerous and where the synagogues attracted large congregations, can we suppose that these emissaries passed these churches by and went to attack the authority of St Paul among the unknown churches of the North, in a country where it was useless to preach the observance of the Mosaic Law, because it is universally admitted that the Jews were few in number there, in fact there may have been none anywhere except in the capital Ancyra?

When St Paul organised his great collection for the poor of Jerusalem, of which he makes mention (1 Cor. xvi. 1 and 2 Cor. viii.), and in which he took the greatest interest, he began by addressing himself to the Galatians (1 Cor. xvi. 1) and next to the Corinthians. The third place belongs to the Macedonians (2 Cor. viii. 3). We cannot doubt that by the expression "churches of Galatia" he meant the churches of southern Galatia, because he wished all the churches founded by him to take part in this collection, and these in the South of Galatia were among the most important. It has quite rightly been remarked that not all St Paul's churches sent delegates, and that consequently Northern Galatia might not be represented and yet not be excluded. We do not deny it. But if by Galatia he did not mean southern Galatia, how is it that the churches of these parts were represented by delegates?

He says (Gal. ii. 5) that in Jerusalem he withstood the judaisers in order that "the truth of the Gospel might continue with you." Now at the time of the Council in Jerusalem he had not yet preached to the Galatians properly so called, because he went to their parts for the first time in his second missionary journey, and after the Council in Jerusalem (Acts xvi. 6). Therefore these words cannot apply except

to the Christians of South Galatia. In answer to the above, some say that St Paul spoke by anticipation ; because in the Council of Jerusalem he defended the liberty of all Christians present and future.

He says (Gal. iv. 14) that he had been received as an angel of God or as Jesus Christ. In Acts xiv. 11 we read that he was taken for a god.

Some critics deny with Schürer that there was in the time of Christ a Roman province called Galatia, but the opposite is now universally admitted. Documentary proof of the fact can be produced, and these proofs show even Pisidia and Lycaonia were called Galatia. All the countries mentioned above were comprised in this province eighty years before St Paul wrote this epistle. Therefore the name was established enough in common usage, to entitle him to address the churches of Roman southern Galatia as Galatians. Besides the Galatians or Gauls, or the greatest number of them, had settled down in the South of Galatia proper, and Amyntas their last king had ruled over the whole of what was afterwards the province of Galatia including Phrygia, Lycaonia and Pisidia. Hence when St Paul wished to address all of them under one name, he could not call them Phrygians or Lycaonians, he had to call them Galatians. Besides everywhere else in his epistles he makes use of the names that were in use in civil administration, thus he speaks of Syria and Cilicia (Gal i. 20), of Asia (2 Cor i. 8), of Macedonia (2 Cor. i. 16), of Achaia (2 Cor. i. 1) in the Roman sense ; no doubt he did so also when he spoke of Galatia, therefore the words : " churches of Galatia " mean Roman Galatia. This does not however decide the whole question, because if he had wished to address the churches of Northern Galatia also, he would

still have written: "Paul . . . to the churches of Galatia."

Those for whom the epistle was intended must have been well acquainted with the Old Testament, as we may judge from the numerous quotations from it, and from the arguments being so frequently based upon it. This fact points to southern Galatia, where Jews were numerous, and where other Christians who were not Jews had every opportunity of becoming familiar with the Biblical writings, for most of them had been proselytes before they became Christians, as we learn from Acts xiii. 43. In the North there were no Jews, except perhaps a few at Ancyra, and even there Ramsay says that there were none; nor were the Gauls familiar with rabbinical dialectics.

Barnabas is mentioned more than once in this epistle, his efforts to deliver the pagans from legal observances are mentioned, and so is his defection. He was of course well known to the churches of southern Galatia of which he with Paul was the apostle, whereas he was entirely unknown to the Galatians of the North.

The epistle was written after the Council of Jerusalem and after the dispute at Antioch, but not long after; the narrative of these events is too vivid for us to be able to allow that any long space of time had elapsed. And it was written soon after his second visit to the churches of Galatia (iv. 13) for (i. 6) he says that the change in them came suddenly. These circumstances fit in well with our hypothesis of southern Galatia. At the time of the Council in Jerusalem, all these churches were probably greatly disturbed by the judaisers who wished to impose the observance of the Law; and immediately after the

Council, Paul visited for the second time the churches of Galatia promulgating the Jerusalem decrees (Acts xvi. 4) and confirming them in the faith. It is easy to understand that an attempt to diminish or destroy the authority of St Paul could easily be made under these circumstances by Jewish emissaries or by judaisers who had only to give their own account of what had taken place in Jerusalem. The success of this counter mission was as rapid and as prodigious as that of St Paul's own mission. These simple and ignorant Galatians believed at once that Paul had told them only what he knew, that his preaching was incomplete and secondary, that it was incumbent upon them to go to the first apostles for a more perfect doctrine; and so they came to ask themselves whether they ought not to accept what was wanting to make them perfect Christians and submit to be circumcised. Whereas if the epistle was written to the Galatians of the North, it cannot have been written until after the third missionary journey, that is when Paul after evangelising Greece and making a voyage to Antioch was going from the latter to Ephesus, consequently four years later. But by that time the whole situation was changed. By that time St Paul had founded important churches in which his authority was acknowledged without question. One cannot believe that unknown churches did under those circumstances make any attempt to destroy his work, nor can one understand why he should be so seriously troubled. From all these arguments we may fairly consider it to be established that this epistle was written to the churches in southern Galatia.

Nevertheless the arguments in favour of the opposite view are not without their value. In iii. 1 he interpellates his readers as; "O senseless Galatians,"

He would not have given this name except to converts among the Galatians properly so called. In the South, they were not Galatians, they were Lycaonians, Phrygians or Pisidians. This is an argument to which we have already supplied an answer.

In iv. 13 he says: "You know that through infirmity of the flesh δι' ἀσθενείαν σαρκός I preached the Gospel to you heretofore." Those who favour the South, translate δι' ἀσθενείαν by: "during an infirmity of the flesh," and they see in these words an allusion to persecutions and ill treatments (Acts xiii. and xiv.). Those who favour the North translate: "on account of an infirmity of the flesh," and say that these words exclude the evangelisation of the southern churches, because he went to them to preach of his own free will and not on account of an illness.

The blows and wounds (Acts xiv. 18) cannot have made St Paul an object of contempt or disgust for the Galatians (iv. 14). Ramsay supposes that when the Apostle was driven out of Antioch, in place of continuing his journey to the west, he went to the east to find in the lofty plateaux a cure for an attack of malaria. A purely gratuitous supposition.

What we have to find is the precise meaning of διὰ. This preposition may mean: *through, during or on account of*. The ancient commentators: St John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theophylactus translate it as if it were ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, δι' ἀσθενείας which means during an infirmity of the flesh. Modern commentators: Lightfoot, Ellicott and Sieffert prefer the meaning of *on account of*. In fact διὰ with the accusative is never used in the meaning of *during* except in poetry, or when it is connected with some word that of itself signifies time as: διὰ χειμῶνα, διὰ νύκτα. In other places St Paul uses διὰ with the ac-

cusative to mean *on account of* or *by means of*. Therefore it would seem that he intended merely to pass through Galatia to go to Bithynia (Acts xvi. 7) but that he was forced to stop by an illness (2 Cor. xii. 7) and that this was the occasion of the first evangelising of the Galatians. If that was so, this epistle was no doubt written to the churches of Galatia properly so called.

He describes those to whom he writes as inconstant, and among their vices he mentions: drunkenness, love of amusement, quarrels, vain-glory and avarice. "These," says Lightfoot, "are the defects of Celtic races." But it is not certain, it is not even probable, that the majority of the properly so-called Galatians were Celts. The country had been conquered by the Gauls, but the old greco-phrygian population continued to exist, as is proved by the name Gallo-Greece. St Paul cannot have written to the Celtic population, for according to St Jerome they spoke Gaulish, and would not have understood him; therefore he must have written to the Jews and the Greeks. As for the accusation of inconstancy, that may very well have applied to the inhabitants of Lystra who received St Paul as a God, then allowed themselves to be won over by Jews from Antioch, Pisidia, and Iconium, and all joined together to stone him. As for the other vices that he mentions, are they not to be found wherever men are to be found? These are the arguments that are put forward by the two parties.

Now, what were the readers? Were they principally Jews or Greeks? First, the epistle appears to be intended for uncircumcised Gentiles (v. 2) for he says: "if you be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing." And vi. 12: "they constrain you to be

circumcised." Or iv. 8: "then knowing not God you served them who by nature are not gods." These things were clearly not written to Jews. Again when he says (i. 14): "my own nation" he implies that his readers are not Jews. His argument (iii. 28-29) is that they will become the posterity of Abraham if they belong to Christ. In fact the whole epistle is an argument that they ought not to be circumcised, because it is not circumcision but faith in Christ that produces justification.

On the other hand there are passages which show that some of his readers were Jews by birth or proselytes from paganism. In ii. 15 and iii. 13-23-25 and iv. 3-5 he identifies the reader with the writer: "God has redeemed us from the malediction of the law," "we were shut up under the law." Of course these may be abstract reasonings: St Paul wants to make them understand what the Law is, and speaks of it in general without distinguishing to whom it was given in particular. But (iii. 28) "there is neither Jew nor Greek" seems to show that there were some Jews in the churches of Galatia. We may conclude from all these arguments that there was a Gentile majority with a strong Jewish minority.

After weighing all that has been said, we think that this epistle was written to the southern Galatians. But we acknowledge that our conclusion is not absolutely certain. There are expressions that cannot be explained, unless we admit that it was addressed also to the Galatians properly so called.

2. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING

The date and place of writing, and consequently the position of this epistle in relation to the other

epistles, are as uncertain as the persons to whom it was addressed. From the earliest times opinion on these points varied considerably. Marcion in his Apostolicon gives it the first place among the epistles of St Paul. Victorinus about 380 says that St Paul wrote it when he was preaching at Ephesus, and that would be during his third missionary journey. St John Chrysostom considers it to be older than the epistle to the Romans, and thinks that it was written towards the end of the third missionary journey. Theodoret, Jerome, Euthalius, Pseudo-Athanasius, and Œcomenius say that it was written in Rome during St Paul's first captivity. Some Greek MSS., two Syriac versions, and the coptic version bear the note ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης *from Rome*. This opinion is held in our days by Halmel and Kohler, and they base it on the Roman legal terms used iv. 2 and iii. 20 and on the passages iv. 20 and vi. 17 in which they see allusions to St Paul's captivity. But these proofs are insufficient, for if he had been a prisoner when he wrote, he would have said so as plainly as in the other epistles that we know to have been written in captivity.

In our days these differences of opinion increase continually, the uncertainty as regards the persons to whom it was written producing a number of conjectures as to the time and the place of writing. Zahn, Belser and Weber call it the first epistle, Kohler calls it the last; Michælis and Kiel say that it was written before the year 54, Cornely, Hausrath and Pfleiderer place it soon after the Council of Jerusalem, Renan and Ramsay say that it was written at Antioch before the third missionary journey, Meyer, Reuss, Holtzman and Lipsius say that it was written at Ephesus during the third

journey, Askwith gives Macedonia as the place and puts it after the second epistle to the Corinthians in time, Bleek and Lightfoot say that it was written at Corinth after the sojourn of three years at Ephesus, Schrader gives Rome as the place.

If we wish to have any certainty in this discussion, we cannot do better than to take as fixed points the events of rare occurrence that are alluded to in this epistle. He certainly wrote after he had paid the Galatians a second visit, for he says: "You know that I preached the Gospel to you the first time on account of an infirmity of the flesh" (iv. 13) which means at least a second visit, for the word *πρότερον* may also be translated *formerly*. Again when he says: "as we have said to you before" (i. 9) he refers not to what he has just said, but to something that he said at some former time. Now, the matter of which he is writing is the possibility of another Gospel than his being preached to them; he certainly cannot have spoken of that subject when he evangelised them for the first time, therefore he must have done so when he paid them a second visit. No long time can have elapsed between the conversion of the Galatians and the writing of this epistle, since he is astonished at their turning away so quickly from him who brought them to the grace of Christ (i. 6). The word *ταχέως* is however elastic enough to allow of some space of time between their conversion and their falling off. Finally the fixing of the date must depend upon the view that one takes as to the persons to whom the epistle was written, whether to the Galatians properly so called or to the southern Galatians. And it must depend also upon whether we identify the visit to Jerusalem which is mentioned ii. 1-10 with the one in Acts xi. 30 or with the one in Acts xv.

Those who are in favour of the epistle being addressed to the southern Galatians, say that the evangelising of these churches is narrated in Acts xiii. and xiv. and that the second visit is in Acts xvi. 6. According to Weber the events were in the following order : St Paul's conversion took place in 32, he went to Jerusalem in 35 (Gal. i. 18 ; Acts ix. 23), then he preached in Syria and Cilicia (Gal. i. 21 ; Acts ix. 30 and xi. 19) ; he went again to Jerusalem in 45 carrying the alms from the church of Antioch, on this occasion some judaisers endeavoured to force the converts from Paganism to submit to the observance of the Mosaic Law, and then St Paul explained his work and his preaching publicly before the whole church of Jerusalem, and in private obtained from the principal apostles a recognition of his apostleship and divided with them the field of missionary labours (Gal. ii. 1-10 ; Acts xi. 30 and xii. 25) ; he left Antioch to begin his first journey (Acts xiii.) and evangelised the South of the Roman province of Galatia (*ib.* 13-14)—46-47—and on his return to Antioch visited for the second time the newly founded churches (Acts xiv. 21). At Antioch he reprehended Peter. The Judaisers perceiving the consequences of Paul's preaching, began treacherously to oppose him, they went round to all the churches that he had founded and preached the necessity of circumcision. The converts were greatly disturbed. Paul wrote from Antioch in 48-49 this epistle to the Galatians. Then he went to Jerusalem to confer with the apostles on the question of keeping the Mosaic Law (Acts xv.) and definitely obtained a decision in his favour (Acts xv.) in the year 50.

This arrangement of the events would have the advantage of solving many serious difficulties, and it is possible only if you admit that the epistle was

written to the southern Galatians, and if you also admit that the meeting mentioned (Gal. ii.) is not the same as the one in Acts xv. Now as regards the latter, though the two accounts do not agree in every respect, they do agree in so many, that the majority of critics pronounce in favour of one meeting. And in that case the date of the epistle must be put later. Nevertheless some of those who favour the South, Cornely among them, think that the epistle was written after the Council in Jerusalem; and that the second visit to the Galatians took place in Acts xvi. 6. Soon after, perhaps at Troas, Paul heard of the defection of the Galatians, and there or at Corinth a few months later wrote this epistle.

According to those who favour the northern hypothesis, he evangelised Galatia in his second missionary journey (Acts xvi. 6), visited it again in the third (*ib.* xviii. 23), went through proconsular Asia (xix. 1), went to Ephesus where he stayed three years, then went to Macedonia and Corinth; it would be in this space of time that he wrote his epistles to the Corinthians and Romans and probably also to the Galatians. The many similarities of style and doctrine in these four epistles are in favour of this date.

The state of the churches of Corinth and Galatia presents a striking analogy. We see in both places the same doctrines, the same insinuations, the same attacks against St Paul's authority, and the same adversaries, viz. the judaisers. The Apostle alludes to the same circumstances in his life, to his illness, and his polemic is equally keen and personal in both cases. At Corinth however the judaisers do not seem to attempt to force circumcision on the converts from Paganism, they acknowledge themselves

defeated on that point. And this would show that the epistle to the Corinthians was written after that to the Galatians. Between the epistle to the Galatians and the one to the Romans, there is an equally well marked relation; the former is an outline, and the latter is a development. Writing to the Galatians St Paul proves that the law has come to an end, he shows what place it had held in the divine plan; writing to the Romans he takes a wider view, explains as a whole the design of God in the history of mankind, and shows that the Mosaic Law filled only a temporary place in that history. The ideas, and sometimes the expressions, are the same in both. And we may conclude that these four epistles were written about the same time. Yet the epistle to the Romans was the latest of the four, because there is no polemic in it, the battle is felt to be over; it is in no sense a letter written for an occasion, St Paul writes leisurely and presents a large and tranquil expounding of a gospel that has waged a war and won a victory.

If all this is true, we must place the epistle to the Galatians between the first and the second to the Corinthians, and it may have been written at Ephesus towards the end of St Paul's stay in that city or in Macedonia, therefore in 57-58.

These arguments are certainly weighty, but there is also undoubtedly something to be said on the other side. For it is possible that St Paul in later years went back to an outline and to expressions that he had made use of in earlier years. He was a preacher, he spoke many times of the selfsame truths, and he spoke of them in the same words, so that at last some expressions became as it were stereotyped. He came to have formulas for certain doctrines, and these

formulas occur in almost identical words every time he writes of those doctrines, even in one and the same epistle. If in later times similar conditions led him to express similar sentiments, can we be astonished at his employing similar words to express them? It would therefore be rash to consider it absolutely certain that these four epistles were written at one period, on the ground that in many respects they are similar one to the other. It is not impossible that an interval of some years separates some of them from the others, or that the epistle to the Galatians was the first of them and was written about the year 53 as those say who favour the South hypothesis. We may therefore place the date of Galatians between 53 and 58 after Christ.

3. OCCASION AND OBJECT

The epistle to the Galatians was written on the occasion of circumstances of a very special nature. The many allusions contained in it will enable us to discover the relations that existed between the Apostle and these churches, and also his reasons for writing to them.

When he went to preach the Gospel to them, he was suffering from that disease of which he speaks (2 Cor. xii. 7). But they did not despise him on account of it, they received him "as an angel of God, as Jesus Christ" (Gal. iv. 14). He has not forgotten the proofs of their affection, they would have plucked out their eyes for him (iv. 15). Therefore he now calls them his little children. His ministry had produced abundant fruit, miracles had been worked among them (iii. 5), they ran well (v. 7). After this

first visit, he paid them a second one, and noticed perhaps even then that there was some change in them, for in Acts xvi. 5 it is said that he confirmed them, and in this epistle (i. 9) he writes: "As we said before, so now I say again: if anyone preach to you a gospel besides that which you have received, let him be anathema." Not long after this visit, he heard worse news of them. We cannot tell how the news came to him, whether by a letter or by messengers sent to him from the churches; but we can see that his information was certain, and that he had not the slightest hesitation in believing it. Emissaries sent probably from Antioch had taught the Galatians a new gospel. We do not know who these emissaries were. He never speaks of them by name. He speaks of them with something like disdain: he calls them *τινές* *some that trouble you* (i. 7). They are supposed by some commentators to have been Jews, but we think that they were Christians who had been Jews (iv. 29 and vi. 12-17). St Paul speaks of them in the plural, so no doubt they were many; but one of them may have held some position of authority, for the Apostle writes: "he that troubleth you shall bear the judgment whosoever he be" (v. 10) and in iii. 1 he writes as if this man had a power of fascination over the Galatians; however it is possible also that the singular stands in these two places for a plural.

The defence offered by the Apostle makes known to us the points where he was attacked, these points were: his authority as an apostle, and his dogmatic and moral teaching.

The contention of his adversaries was that he was in a position of dependence and subordination to the other apostles in Jerusalem and that he had had to learn from them (i. 16-20), that he had had to submit his

teaching for their approval in the Council of Jerusalem (ii. 2-11), that at Antioch Peter had expressed disapproval, that Paul had no mandate to preach to the Pagans (ii. 7-9), that he had not seen Christ or witnessed His Resurrection, that neither Christ nor the Apostles in Jerusalem had made him an apostle, and that consequently there was no proof that he had any mission at all. They said that the rule of life that he had made was contrary to the customs of the churches in Palestine and was not in accordance with the teaching of the other apostles, that he omitted essential parts of the Gospel to gain the good will of the new converts, and that he knew how to adapt himself to circumstances to the extent of even preaching circumcision where it was to his interest to preach it (v. 11).

It cannot be denied that the arguments of the Judaisers were from their point of view by no means destitute of solidity. The Mosaic Law, they said, was a sign of an everlasting covenant between God and the descendants of Abraham, and the Messiah was the Messiah of the Jews; consequently the Galatians should be circumcised if they wished to be partakers in this covenant (v. 2 and vi. 12), they should observe days, months, times and years (iv. 10), Jesus Himself was circumcised, He had taught that not a jot nor a tittle was to disappear from the Law. Yet St Paul's adversaries did not insist upon the keeping of the whole law (v. 3) and in fact did not keep it themselves (vi. 13); they pointed out that the Pagan converts could by submitting to circumcision obtain a share in the privileges and exemptions granted by the Emperor to the Jews and especially that they could by that means avoid persecution (v. 11). Finally they said that Paul's doctrine that the

Law was abrogated, cast a doubt upon the truth of God's promises, broke down the barriers against sin, and admitted licence under the name of Christian liberty.

The attack was, as we see from this statement, skilfully prepared. It seemed to be supported by the Old Testament, by the observance of Christ Himself, by the first apostles, by the churches of Palestine; and it aimed a blow at the very heart of the gospel of justification by faith in Christ which was what St Paul preached.

The question to be decided was whether justification and salvation came from faith in Christ alone, or whether it was necessary also to observe the Law of Moses (v. 2). Was the Law a transitory dispensation, now out of date, was its purpose already accomplished, and was there an entirely New Covenant in which Christ was supreme? The question was certainly a difficult one, and the Judaising Christians may have been in good faith. We cannot wonder at the Galatians being greatly disturbed by these arguments and by these attacks on the authority of their apostle, nor can we wonder at their faith being shaken (i. 6). They began to think that his gospel was incomplete, that not being one of Our Lord's own disciples he was inferior in knowledge in some respects, and they were already willing to accept a new gospel. Yet they do not seem to have actually submitted to circumcision (v. 2 and v. 10).

St Paul became very anxious (iv. 20), he wished to go to them again; as that was impossible, he wrote them this vehement letter in which he gives expression both to his indignation and to his affection.

We might gather from "See what a letter I have written to you with my own hand" (vi. 11) that the

whole of it was in his own handwriting, but it is possible also that these words refer only to the conclusion of the letter; and we have already seen that it was his custom to write some part of the conclusion with his own hand.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE

Besides the address (i. 1-5) and the conclusion (vi. 11-18) the epistle consists of three parts: the first is apologetic from i. 6 to ii. 21, this is the proof of his independence as an apostle; the second is dogmatic, it consists of the whole of the third and fourth chapters, in which he explains and defends his doctrine; and the third is moral (v.-vi. 10) where he draws out the effect of his doctrine on the conduct of life.

The address (i. 1-5).—This is a *résumé* of the whole letter, it indicates the independent nature of his apostleship, and states what the work of Christ's Redemption is.

The Apology (i. 6-ii. 21).—After the short salutation he begins *ex abrupto* with: "I wonder that you are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel," and asserts energetically that there is no other gospel but the one that he has preached to them. He launches an anathema—and repeats it—against anyone who preaches to them a new gospel even though it should be an angel from heaven.

Next, he goes on to prove that his gospel is from God and not from men. He was not converted by men from being a persecutor of the Christians, it was a miracle that brought about his conversion. And

after his conversion he took no counsel with men, he did not even go to Jerusalem to see the apostles who were before him, but he went to Arabia and returned to Damascus. Not until three years later did he go to Jerusalem to see Peter, tarried with him fifteen days, and saw none of the other apostles except James the brother of the Lord. Then he went to the regions of Syria and Cilicia, and was unknown by face to the churches of Judea.

His apostolic independence and his mission were recognised by James, Cephas and John who "added nothing" to him. He obtained this recognition in Jerusalem in company with Barnabas and Titus, the latter being a Pagan by birth and uncircumcised; and he went to Jerusalem to obtain this recognition moved not by any human influence, but on account of a divine revelation. He had explained both publicly to the whole church of Jerusalem and privately to the apostles what the gospel was that he preached among the Gentiles, lest he should run or have run in vain. And Titus was not made to submit to circumcision. The apostles acknowledged Paul as the apostle of uncircumcision. Then when Peter went to Antioch, at first he ate with the Gentiles, but on the arrival of others from Jerusalem he withdrew and separated himself, and Paul withstood him to his face claiming that "man is not justified by the works of the Law but by the faith of Jesus Christ."

Dogmatic part (iii. 1-iv. 31).—To prove justification by faith, he appeals to the experience of the Galatians: "Did you receive the Spirit by the works of the Law or by the hearing of faith?" Next he appeals to Scripture: he shows how Abraham was justified by faith and not by works. All those who

have the faith are sons of Abraham and heirs of the promises that were made to him. These promises were made to Abraham more than four hundred years before the Law came into existence, and cannot be annulled by the Law. We were under the Law like children under a tutor or governor, but when a child comes to full age he is no longer under the authority of tutors or governors; and now that Christ is come we are no longer under the Law. He compares the present state of the Galatians with their condition before their conversion; then knowing not God they served them who by nature are not gods. Do they now wish to place themselves again under the weak and needy elements?

Moral part (v. and vi.).—He exhorts them to stand fast in their Christian liberty and not to put themselves again under the yoke of bondage, and he brings forward a number of arguments the one suggested by the other without any strictly logical order in support of this exhortation. He declares that if they submit to circumcision, Christ shall profit them nothing, and he begins this assertion with the solemn formula: “Behold I Paul tell you”; he declares also that circumcision is not a mere ceremony, he says that it involves the keeping of the whole Law; and goes on to say that those who were justified in the law were void of Christ and fallen from grace. Finally he is confident that he who troubles them shall bear the judgment.

Then he explains that the Christian liberty to which they have been called must be made an occasion for living according to the flesh. He enumerates the works of the flesh and also the fruits of the spirit. Let them not deceive themselves, God is not mocked, whatever a man sows that also shall he reap.

Conclusion (vi. 11-18).—He makes a *résumé* of this

epistle which is written with his own hand in large letters. His adversaries constrain the Galatians to be circumcised only that they may not suffer persecution for the cross of Christ. God forbid that he should glory in anything but the cross of Christ in whom neither circumcision nor uncircumcision matters, the one important thing is newness of life. He wishes them peace and grace.

5. AUTHENTICITY

From the earliest ages down to the eighteenth century everyone believed in the authenticity of this epistle. In that century an Englishman named Evanson (1792) put forward some doubts on the subject, and in the nineteenth century a reaction against the school of Baur made some critics pronounce against the four epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians, because these were the only ones that Baur allowed to be truly pauline; they redivided, rearranged, and mutilated these epistles, or allowed only portions to be genuine, or even declared them to be spurious altogether. Rudolf Steck especially has attacked the epistle to the Galatians. J. Friedrich (Mähliß) has gathered up all the objections and especially those of Br. Baur and R. Steck. He says that when this epistle is compared with the Acts, it is found to be full of contradictions and historical impossibilities: compare Acts ix. 21 and Gal. i. 15-16; Acts ix. 19-30 and Gal. i. 16-24; Acts xv. 1-35 and Gal. ii. 1-10. He says also that the language is not St Paul's, thirty-three words are found here that are not found either in his other epistles or in the rest of the New Testament, and eleven words are here that are

found in the New Testament but not in the pauline epistles. The style is not the same as that of the epistles to the Corinthians, if we must take those epistles as models. And finally there are passages borrowed from writings of more recent date: the Assumption of Moses, the fourth Book of Esdras, Philo, etc. We shall refute most of these objections merely by establishing the authenticity of the epistle, and those that we do not answer in that way shall be answered separately afterwards.

Testimony of Tradition.—St Ireneus is the first writer who attributes this epistle by name to St Paul, but other writers before him quote from it or show the influence of it. Clement of Rome in his Epistle to the Corinthians (ii. 1 and xlix. 6) vaguely resembles Gal. iii. 16 and i. 4 respectively. In the 2 Cor. (which is falsely attributed to Clement of Rome) ii. 1 and in Gal. iv. 27 the passage from Isaias liv. 1 is quoted from the Septuagint and interpreted in the one sense. The coincidences between the epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and this epistle: Eph. xvi. 1 and Gal. v. 21; Polyc. i. and Gal. vi. 2; Rom. vii. and Gal. v. 24; 2 and Gal. i. 10; Philad. i. and Gal. i. 1 are not clear enough to entitle us to say that he borrowed from this epistle. St Polycarp seems to have borrowed the expressions: "God is not mocked" and "run in vain"; compare also iii. 2 and Gal. iv. 26; vi. 3 and Gal. iv. 18; xii. 2 and Gal. i. 1. The similarities between the epistle of Barnabas or the Pastor of Hermas and this epistle are scarcely worth mentioning, and those between the epistle to Diognetus iv. 5 and Gal. iv. 10; viii. 10-11 and Gal. iv. 4 are probable but not certain. St Justin certainly borrowed from this epistle two passages of Deuteronomy (xxvii. 26 and xxi. 23), for these quotations are in him exactly as they are in Gal. iii. 10

and iii. 13 though they are not exactly so in any Hebrew or Septuagint text that we know of; he also (1 Apol. 6, 3) applies Isaias liv. 1 as it is applied in Gal. iv. 27. Athenagoras (Apol. 16) makes use of the singular expression: "weak and needy elements" (Gal. iv. 9).

The heretics of the second century were certainly acquainted with this epistle. According to Lightfoot (Gal. p. 61) the Ophites made a liberal use of it, and several textual quotations from it are found in their writings; according to St Ireneus (*adv. her.* 1, 3) the same is true of the Valentinians. Marcion gives it the first place in his Apostolicon, and it is in the canon of Muratori. Celsus speaks of those who say: "the world is crucified to me and I to the world" (Gal. vi. 14), and according to Origen that is the only sentence that Celsus quotes from St Paul. In the Clementine Homilies (17, 19) Peter reproaches Simon the Magician, *i.e.* St Paul with having opposed him *ἐναντίος ἀνθέστηκός μοι* and condemned him *κατεγνωσμένον* expressions that remind us of Gal. ii. 11. Other coincidences may be noticed in Justin the Gnostic, in Tatian, and in the Acts of Paul and Thecla, 11 = Gal. ii. 8. Finally Ireneus (*adv. her.* 5, 21, 1, etc.), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 3, 16), and Tertullian (*de prescr.* 6; *adv. Marcion*, 5, 2, 1) mention the epistle that Paul wrote to the Galatians. For further testimony from tradition see Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 233.

Historical circumstances.—This epistle fits in naturally with the events that are known to us from the other epistles of St Paul and from the Acts, later on there is no historical situation to be found in which this epistle could be placed. It supposes that admission into the church is granted without any

difficulty to the Pagans, but that the judaisers attempted to impose upon them the obligation of circumcision if not as a necessary condition of their being Christians, at least as a condition of their attaining a higher degree of perfection. It presupposes also that the value of the Mosaic Law for eternal salvation is still a burning question, and thirdly it presupposes an undisguised hostility to Paul and a denial of his apostleship and independence. Now, there never was any situation of this kind except when St Paul wrote his epistles to the Corinthians and to the Romans. That was the only time when there was open war between the Apostle of the Gentiles and the judaisers as recorded in the Acts. And by the time of the epistle to the Romans, a change in the situation is manifest: the battle is over, there is no longer any question of the necessity of circumcision for salvation, and Pagans enter into the Christian Church on an equality with the Jews. None of St Paul's later epistles contain any allusion to these questions. He continued to combat Jewish errors, but they were not at all the same as those with which we are now concerned. In the second century we may watch the Ebionites attacking the doctrine and the person of St Paul, but we shall not see them attempting to impose circumcision on Pagan converts.¹ It is about the year 53-58 that we find the historical situation in which the epistle to the Galatians must have been written.

Doctrine of the epistle to the Galatians.—This epistle contains the same doctrines as the other pauline epistles, sometimes in the very same terms. Thus there are 24 places in this epistle that are

¹ Yet the *δια μαρτυρία* of James I. at the beginning of the Clementine Homilies makes a stand for Circumcision.

similar to places in the epistle to the Romans: Gal. iii. 11 = Rom. iii. 20, Gal. iii. 19 = Rom. v. 20, Gal. iii. 23 = Rom. iii. 18, Gal. iii. 27 = Rom. vi. 3, etc.; 14 places similar to 1 Cor.: Gal. i. 8 and 9 = 1 xvi. 22, Gal. iii. 26 = 1 xii. 13, etc.; 11 similar to 2 Cor.: Gal. iv. 17 = 2 xi. 2, Gal v. 10 = 2 ii. 3, etc. These passages express the same idea, which proves the identity of author, but in slightly varied terms, which disproves literary dependence. Thus we have (Gal. i. 20): "The things that I write to you behold before God I lie not" = Rom. ix. 1; "I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not" = 2 Cor. xi. 31; "God . . . knoweth that I lie not." Or again (Gal. iii. 27): "As many of you as have been baptised in Christ have put on Christ" = Rom. xiii. 14: "You have put on the Lord Jesus Christ." The passages in which the similarity is most literal are these: Gal. iv. 30: "But what saith the Scripture?" and Rom. iv. 3: "For what saith the Scripture?" Gal. i. 11: *γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν ἀδελφοὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθεν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ* = 1 Cor. xv. 1: *γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν ἀδελφοὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν*; Gal v. 9: "A little leaven corrupteth the whole lump" = 1 Cor. v. 6: "Know ye not that a little leaven corrupteth the whole lump?" Compare also: Gal. iii. 6 = Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iii. 12 = Rom. x. 5, Gal v. 14 = Rom. xiii. 9.

Some writers have concluded that the epistle to the Galatians had been made up of sentences picked out from the other epistles; but if you study the similarities carefully you will see that the literal coincidences are not many, and you can easily understand the reason of them: they are quotations from the Old Testament, or proverbs, or general formulas; and the remainder come from identity of authorship.

St Paul was not afraid of repeating himself, this is evident in his epistles. Besides a forger would have quoted more textually, and would not have known how to present the same ideas in such variety of expression.

The substance of the doctrine is the same in the epistle to the Galatians and in the epistle to the Romans, what the former shows us one aspect of is shown in a fuller development in the latter. Is then the one an epitome of the other? That cannot be held, for the way in which the doctrine is handled is too sure, and the reasoning is too close to allow us to suppose that this has been put together like a mosaic.

Style of the epistle.—Like all the epistles of St Paul, this epistle contains some *hapaxlegomena*: 34 or 33, and some six words that occur here for the first time. Every reader can see that the style is the same as that of the other pauline writings. This is so well recognised that the epistle has been said to be an imitation fabricated by a forger. But in those days forgers did not trouble to imitate style as they do in modern times. Nor will many people find it easy to admit that St Paul's style can possibly be imitated.

Connection with the Acts.—The differences between the two are easy to understand. The writers had different objects in view. St Luke writes as a historian, St Paul as an apologist. The one was separated from the events, and looked at them as a whole, as one from the outside would look; the other picks out the circumstances that tell in favour of his thesis, and being an eye-witness makes known points that had been generally overlooked.

According to the Acts St Paul remained some

time *ἡμέρας τινάς* after his conversion at Damascus (ix. 19) and at once *εὐθέως* preached Christ in the synagogues; then after many days *ἡμέραι ἱκαναί* the Jews plotted to put him to death, he fled to Jerusalem, there the brethren were afraid of him, they would not believe that he was a disciple, but Barnabas took him to the apostles, and after that Paul preached and disputed with the Hellenists. In this epistle we read that after his conversion he went to Arabia (i. 17) returned to Damascus, and after three years went to Jerusalem to see Peter, he saw James also, but was personally unknown to the churches in Judea.

The differences in the two accounts prove only that St Luke did not know all the circumstances or did not think fit to record them. We are more inclined to believe that he gave an account furnished not by St Paul but by some witness who understood only the exterior aspect, whereas St Paul writes from the point of view of one whose knowledge was more intimate and personal.

After his conversion St Paul retired to Arabia, probably into the desert in the neighbourhood of Damascus, then returned to the city, and at once began to preach. The Acts simply leave out the detail of this retirement into Arabia. It may have been of no great length. It was only after *many days* that he was obliged to take to flight. Three years may very well find room in the word *ἱκαναί* which in St Luke denotes a considerable lapse of time. And what contradiction is there in his being obliged to fly as the Acts say, and in his going to Jerusalem for the purpose of seeing Peter as the epistle says? He might have fled to any other place, but he had a special reason for wishing to go to Jerusalem. He saw there Peter and James. Does not that authorise

one who writes as a historian to say that he saw the apostles? And the difference in the point of view explains also why the one says that he was personally unknown to the churches, whereas the other affirms that St Paul essayed to join himself to the disciples, that he preached and had discussions with the Hellenists: the former statement was important as showing that St Paul's stay was short and that he could not have been incorporated with the church in Jerusalem, this had a bearing on his claim to independence in the apostleship, and the other statement shows that he was known to the Hellenists, which implies that he was not generally known. In short St Paul could say that he had seen no one but Peter and James because for his purpose the others were of no importance, whereas St Luke wrote merely to record facts.

Much has been made of the discrepancy between Gal. ii. 1-10 and Acts xv. 1-35. Let us remark at the outset that it is not absolutely certain that the visit to Jerusalem in St Paul's account is the same as the one in the Acts. Critics of the standing of Weber and Ramsay deny it. In that case the discrepancy would create no difficulty. But let us admit that the visit is identical, and let us show that there is no real discrepancy.

A general view of the two accounts shows them to be in agreement: the geography is the same, the embassy is from Antioch to Jerusalem and the return is to Antioch; the time is the same and so are the persons: Paul and Barnabas representing the Gentiles, Cephas and James representing the circumcision; the adversaries in the Acts are converted pharisees who wish to introduce legal observances into the Church, in the epistle they are false brethren who wished to

impose the Mosaic Law on the Pagan converts. In both accounts the Council is stormy. The result in both is freedom for the Gentiles and recognition of the apostolic mission of Paul and Barnabas. Now let us examine the details.

The Acts say (xv. 2.) that Paul and Barnabas were sent by the Christians of Antioch, the epistle says (ii. 2) that he went up according to a revelation. Cannot both be true? St Paul supplies the interior and St Luke the exterior motive. Hort conjectures that St Paul hesitated to go, and that a commandment from God reached him.

According to the Acts, the question in dispute was discussed and settled in public in presence of the whole Church assembled. In the epistle, St Paul speaks only of private conferences with those who seemed to be something. He insists repeatedly on his intercourse with the apostles, on the good relations between him and them, on their giving him the right hand of fellowship. This was what was important for his purpose. He had not to write the history of the Council. Probably the Galatians knew it quite well. But he tells them what they did not know, viz. what took place in private. Yet he does not omit a mention of the public meeting: "I conferred with them the gospel which I preached among the Gentiles, but apart with them who seemed to be something." So he speaks of two meetings: one in public and one in private. But it was not important for his purpose that he should lay stress upon the public meeting.

Finally it is objected that there is a contradiction between St Paul's assertion that the apostles "added nothing" (ii. 6.) and the decree in the Acts imposing four commandments on converts from Paganism. The answer is that St Paul's assertion does not ex-

clude the decree. The word *προσανέθεντο* may be translated *imposed* or *communicated*. The latter is probably the meaning that was in St Paul's mind. For his object was to make it clear that his gospel was complete, and that after he had explained it to the apostles they added nothing.

We shall say nothing as to passages borrowed by the writer of this epistle from books that were not in existence in St Paul's time, because the fact that the passages are borrowed is not proved, the date of those books is uncertain, and it is certain that they contain interpolations made by Christians. Besides there is no reason why St Paul should not have quoted from books from his own time. Origen notes that 1 Cor. ii. 9 is borrowed from the *Secrets of Elias*.

CHAPTER V

EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

1. TIME, PLACE, AND OCCASION OF WRITING

WE have seen that St Paul travelled from Ephesus to Troas and Corinth. It was probably in the latter that he wrote this epistle. For in xv. 25 he says that he is going to Jerusalem as the bearer of a collection made in Macedonia and in Achaia. This collection was begun at the time when he wrote 1 Cor. xvi. 2 and was finished after 2 Cor. viii. 9. In that 2 Cor. he said that he would go to Corinth, and that he would either send or take the collection to Jerusalem. We know from Acts xx. 1-3 that he left Ephesus to go to Macedonia and then on to Greece. Probably he went to Corinth, because (1 Cor. xvi. 5) he announces his intention of visiting Corinth and perhaps spending the winter there after going through Macedonia. He probably stayed there three months, and then went to Jerusalem. This epistle was written most probably just before he left Corinth for Jerusalem. Among the signatures (Rom. xvi. 21) we find the names of Timothy and Sosipater, and we know from Acts xx. 4 that both of these accompanied him on his journeys at this time. Probably Phœbe the deaconess of the church at Cenchrea (port of Corinth) was the bearer of the epistle. St Paul's host was Gaius (Rom xvi. 23), and we know from 1 Cor. i. 14 that there was a Gaius in Corinth whom St Paul himself baptised. The city from which he wrote had a treasurer, this fact shows that

the city was of some importance; the man's name was Erastus, and we see (2 Tim. iv. 20) that there was an Erastus at Corinth. All these coincidences, as well as tradition, point to Corinth as the place where this epistle was written.

St Paul was at Corinth during the winter 55-58. He left for Jerusalem before Easter, for he was at Philippi in the days of the azymes (Acts xx. 6). Therefore it was in the winter of 55-58 or in the spring of 56-59 that he wrote to the Romans. Some writers suggest that he began to write the epistle at Athens and that he finished it at Corinth, others say that he wrote the whole of it at Cenchrea; these are mere suppositions, and we have absolutely nothing to say with regard to them, for the simple reason that there is absolutely nothing that we know of for them or against them.

The occasion for the writing of this epistle was St Paul's wish to prepare the church of Rome for the visit that he intended to pay it. He had for a long time cherished the thought of this visit. His plan had been to evangelise Asia Minor and Greece, and then to go to Rome, for his progress was always towards the West (xv. 19). Now at last he sees a possibility of actually paying the visit (xv. 23), and he writes to the Romans to announce it. This was the occasion. But the purpose of his writing was something of greater importance. In order to understand it, we must first try to understand the community to whom the epistle is addressed.

2. TO WHOM IT WAS WRITTEN

Christian tradition is wholly in favour of the view that this epistle was written to the church of Rome.

Rome is mentioned in that sense in several places (i. 7-15). But recent critics like Loman, van Manen, and B. Smith say that it cannot have been written to recent converts, they would not have been able to understand it, and that consequently it cannot have been written to the Romans who were recent converts; that the letter is really a theological treatise, and that it was not addressed to actual persons, because it speaks sometimes as to Jews, sometimes as to Pagans. Lastly and especially there are only two passages that indicate the nationality of the persons addressed, and in those two passages the words: "in Rome" are not found in the Codex Bornerianus which in place of: "To all that are at Rome the beloved of God" has: "to all the beloved of God." Origen and the Ambrosiaster also appear to have known some MSS. in which there was no mention of Rome.

These reasons cannot be allowed to prevail against the testimony of nearly all the uncial MSS. or against the agreement of all the ecclesiastical writers. And we shall later on be able to show that undoubtedly the letter was intended to be read by actual persons. Harnack admits that the letter did not contain the words: "in Rome," yet believes that it was written to the Christians of Rome.

Origin of the church of Rome.—Great discussions have raged round this question. We will confine ourselves to a statement of the facts. There was in Rome a considerable colony of Jews, consequently the ground was prepared for the preaching of Christianity. Under Tiberius it is estimated that the Jews numbered 60,000, and nine synagogues in Rome are known by name. When we consider that communications must have been held with Jerusalem,

and that between Rome and the great centres of commerce in the East: Corinth, Ephesus, and Alexandria people were constantly going backward and forward, it seems certain that the faith must have reached Rome.

But can it be proved that Peter the Apostle preached there about the year 42? Ancient testimonies agree that he founded the church of Rome, but we must not omit to notice that St Paul's name is always coupled with St Peter's in these testimonies. Cf. Clement of Rome (Cor. v.), Ignatius of Antioch (Rom. iv.), and Dionysius of Corinth (*Euseb. Hist. eccl.* 2, 25). St Ireneus, *adv. Her.* I. 1 says: "The Gospel of Matthew was published when Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the church of Rome." To what period do these passages refer? Origen in his commentary on Genesis says that according to Eusebius (Hist. 3, 1): "Peter preached in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Asia to the Jews of the dispersion. Finally he went to Rome and was crucified head downwards as he prayed that he might be. Paul preached the gospel from Jerusalem to Illyricum and suffered martyrdom in Rome under Nero." Towards the fourth century the tradition became more definite. Eusebius (Hist. 2, 14) says that St Peter was in Rome under Claudius and at the same time as Simon Magus. In his Chronicle he says that Peter went to Rome in the third year of Caligula. St Jerome (*Vir. illustr.* 1), says: "*Secundo Claudii imperatoris anno (42) ad expugnandum Simonem magum Roman pergit, ibique viginti quinque annis cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit usque ad ultimum annum Neronis.*" The question is whether Eusebius and St Jerome who copies from the former give here a tradition, or whether they have chronologically

combined two legendary testimonies. According to Justin Martyr (1 Apol. 26) Simon Magus went to Rome in the time of Claudius, according to the ebionite legend St Peter followed Simon about everywhere to oppose him. Perhaps it was from this that the conclusion was drawn that St Peter was in Rome in the time of Claudius. Only St Justin has made one mistake: he invented a journey of Simon's to Rome on the strength of an inscription *Simoni Sanco*, a Sabine god, which he read: *Simoni Sancto*. Therefore part is false, consequently we cannot feel very certain as to the other part.

Orosius (*Hist.* 7, 6) says very distinctly: "*Exordio regni Claudii Petrus Apostolus D. N. J. C. Roman venit, et salutare cunctis credentibus fidem fidei verbo docuit potentis, suisque virtutibus comprobavit atque exinde Christiani Romæ esse ceperunt.*" This tradition of the fifth century can be traced back to an earlier date. According to various lists of Popes (*Chron. syr.*) St Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, consequently from 42-67. These lists were based upon one by Hippolytus at the beginning of the third century, and even according to Lightfoot (*St Clement*, pp. 333) the duration of the episcopate of St Peter was perhaps based upon the lists of Hegesippus about 175-190. Therefore the church of Rome would have been founded by St Peter about the year 42.

That is one aspect of the question. There is another. Ancient tradition is not unanimous in saying that the Roman church was founded by St Peter. The Ambrosiaster (*Grol. Ep. to Rom.*) writing at the end of the fourth century says that he found legalist tendencies in the Roman church: "*Constat itaque temporibus apostolorum Judæos, propterea quod sub regno romano agerent, Romæ habitasse . . . ex quibus*

hi qui crediderant, tradiderunt Romanis ut Christum profitentes legem servarent. Romanis autem irasci non debuit sed et laudare fidem illorum quia nulla insignia virtutum videntes, nec aliquem apostolorum, susceperunt fidem Christi, ritu licet judaico." Is this assertion based upon memory? Or is it a conjecture?

Probably Christianity was introduced into Rome by isolated individuals. On the Day of Pentecost, there were Jews from Rome present at St Peter's first sermon (Acts ii. 10). Some of them may have been converted that day. The persecution that raged in Jerusalem after the death of St Stephen (Acts x. 19) drove the Christians into Phenicia, Cyprus and Antioch, and may have driven some to Rome. Besides how can we suppose, considering the frequent communications between Rome and the East, that none of those who listened to the preaching of St Paul ever went to Rome? All those to whom he sends salutations in the sixteenth chapter were probably orientals whom he had come across in his missionary journeys. Some of them are very dear to him: Epenetus the first fruits of Asia, Amplias, Stachys who are his fellow-workers, and Andronicus, Junias and Herodion his fellow-countrymen.

Christians seem to have been numerous in Rome under Claudius, for Suetonius in his life of Claudius says: "*Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.*" Three explanations are offered of this passage: (1) Chrestus was some real person who excited disturbances among the Jews. The name of Chrestus was a not uncommon name for a slave. This meaning is not very probable, Suetonius would have said: *quodam Chresto*; (2) Chrestus stands for Christus, those vowels often were thus changed, and Tertullian tells us (*Apol.* 1, 3) that the

Pagans called the Christians *Chrestiani*. St Justin (1 Apol 4.) connects the Christian name with *χρηστός*. This Chrestus-Christus might mean the Jewish Messiah, and Suetonius may have meant that the expectation of this Messiah led the Jews into rebellion. *Tumultuari* means a political sedition. (3) Chrestus is Jesus Christ, and the Jews were driven to disorder as at Thessalonica, Antioch of Pisidia and Lystra by the preaching of the doctrine that Jesus was the Messiah. This last meaning seems to be the most probable. Therefore there were Christians in Rome under Claudius (41-54) about the year 52.

Against the view that St Peter founded the Roman church, appeal is made to this epistle of St Paul to the Romans, because it contains no allusion to St Peter; nor do the epistles written in the captivity contain any allusion to him. Acts xxviii. 14-31 says nothing of any connection between Rome and St Peter. These negative arguments prove that St Paul did not know that St Peter had gone to Rome. But he knew that Rome had been evangelised. It was a point of honour with him not to preach where Christ had been announced, he would not build on another man's foundation, this is what prevented him so long from going to Rome; now he wishes to visit them on his way to Spain (xv. 20-24). Rome had therefore been evangelised, and probably by an apostle.

If Peter was not in Rome while Paul was a prisoner there, that means that Peter did not reside there, and documentary evidence shows that that was so. He was in the East in 44 and 51 (Acts xii. and xv.), at Antioch in 54 (Gal. ii.). Tradition says that he evangelised Pontus, Galatia, etc. He may have gone to Rome in 42, but he did not remain there. Considering the nomadic propensities of the Jews, there

is nothing improbable in the journey, and there is no peremptory reason for denying that it took place.

To sum up, we may say that it is probable that Christianity was known in Rome from the beginning, that Peter preached there about the year 42, that Paul preached there about 60-62, and that this is the origin of the tradition which says that the church of Rome was founded by the two apostles Peter and Paul.

Composition and organisation of the Roman Church.—St Paul says that the faith of this church was known to the whole world (i. 8 and xvi. 19). He says also that for many years he had wished to go to see them. From these passages we may conclude that this church had been in existence some considerable time when he wrote this epistle. Its numbers cannot have been very great. And we do not know how it was organised. St Paul makes no mention of bishops or deacons, nor does he allude to their functions or recommend subjection to them. He sends salutations to twenty-four persons, and none of them appear to have any authority over the others. If there had been a bishop in Rome at that time, it would be very strange that no salutation was sent to him.

Let us now examine two questions that have been much discussed: were the Christians in Rome converts from Paganism or from Judaism? And what was on the whole the tendency of the Roman church? On the answers to these questions depend the view that we must take of St Paul's purpose in writing this epistle.

The first impression produced by reading the epistle is that it was written to converts from Paganism (i. 18-32; xi. 13-16; xv. 9). Yet some

passages produce the opposite impression (ii. 1 ; iii. 8 ; iii. 31 ; iv. 25 ; ix. 1 ; xi. 12 ; xiii. 1-7 ; xv. 8). Our view is that the apostle in his argumentation takes a general point of view and does not speak exclusively either to Pagans or to Jews. His epistle is not the result of any occasion, nor is it devoted to any polemical purpose, it is with the exception of a few passages an objective statement of the gospel of St Paul. He addresses real readers, but over their heads he addresses all Christians.

He says plainly (i. 6) that his readers are Gentiles. It is true that *ἐν οἷς* may be translated *among whom you live* instead of *to whom you belong*, but the development of his thought in the verses 13-15 seems to require the meaning that they are Gentiles, for he speaks of *the other Gentiles* ; *ἔθνη* might mean *nations*, but xi. 13 he says : " I say to you Gentiles," and he distinguishes them from the Jews whom he refers to as *αὐτοί*. He bases his right to address the Romans on the fact that he is the Apostle of the Gentiles, therefore they were Gentiles. And according to Acts xxviii. 21 conversions cannot have been numerous among the Jews in Rome ; because the rulers of the synagogue seem scarcely to know Paul or the Christian faith.

Other passages seem to point to a majority of the readers being Jewish. The questions treated of are of no interest but to Jews : the validity of the Law, the cause of justification, the election of Israel ; and the long discussions on the essence of the Law were incomprehensible to all but Jews. The reasoning is based altogether upon the Old Testament and supposes the reader to be well versed in Holy Scripture, the chapters (ix.-xi.) on the election of Israel are of no interest except to Jews. All these observations

are quite correct. Only we must remember that St Paul was incapable of reasoning in any other way. Even when he was undoubtedly addressing Gentiles like the Galatians he wrote in this way. He was a Jew, and his education was rabbinical. All his thoughts were conditioned by the Law, the maintenance or abrogation of the Law was the basis of his gospel. And this was of interest to the Gentiles, because the Mosaic Law was an important part of the mechanism of God's dealings with mankind. The very thing that St Paul endeavours to explain is how God deals with mankind, the method of the justification or sanctification of men. He could not unfold his thoughts without presenting the arguments as he presents them in this epistle, and no matter who his readers might have been he would have written in this way. The chapters (ix.-xi.) that appear to be interesting to Jews only are really an important part of the reasoning, and the Gentiles were bound as well as the Jews to be instructed in the place destined for them in God's plan.

Let us now examine in detail whether the texts oblige us to believe that the majority of the readers were Jews. Abraham (iv. 1) is called "our father according to the flesh." Can that have been written to Gentiles? We answer that in this place St Paul identifies his readers with himself as he did (1 Cor. x. 1) where he calls the Israelites "our fathers," he speaks again in the same way (Rom. vii. 1-6) where he calls his readers "*brethren* (for I speak to them that know the *law*"). He contrasts life under the law with life freed from the law, he says that passions awakened by the law displayed their power in our members. Was that said to Gentiles? We answer that these words may be explained on St Paul's

theory of the rôle of the law in such a way as to make them applicable to Gentiles, especially as the Gentiles would have been obliged to keep the law if it had not been abrogated. In Col. ii. 14 and Gal. vi. 4-9 he undoubtedly speaks to Gentiles, yet his reasoning is similar to the above. Of course these texts presuppose in the readers an acquaintance with the law. And equally of course the Gentile converts were well acquainted with it, through having been proselytes, or at all events through the frequent reading of the Old Testament; for we must not forget that the Old Testament was held in reverence by the Early Christians just as much as by the Jews. Finally in this as in many other places St Paul speaks generally without preoccupying himself as to who is to read what he writes, he unfolds his theory of how the times before Christ were under a law whether the Mosiac Law or the innate law of the human conscience.

Nevertheless chapters xiii. and xiv. appear to suppose that a proportion of the church was Jewish. The exhortations to be subject to the ruling powers because all power comes from God are addressed to Jews who would not recognise any authority but God's, that is why they found it so difficult to pay taxes. The distinctions between meats and days (xiv. 2-15) were also Jewish. We admit therefore that there were Jews in the Roman church, but there were others who were not Jews, since he exhorts the strong ones—that is those who were free from narrow ideas as to meats and days—to support the infirmities of those who were weak. And those strong ones were in the majority, for one does not exhort a minority to be patient with a majority.

Taking everything into consideration we must con-

clude that the Gentiles were in the majority, and that there was a minority of Jews among the Christians in Rome. If there had been no Jews, St Paul would not have dwelt so much on the vocation of Israel in the ninth, tenth and eleventh chapters. Yet we offer this opinion with some reserve, when we remember the number and the weight of the critics who are of the opposite opinion.

Religious tendency of the church of Rome.—Being Pagan in origin the Christians in Rome might have had a tendency to be judeo-christian like the Galatians, just as if they had originally been Jews they might have had a pauline tendency like Aquila and Priscilla. Here again the epistle itself must explain the matter to us. For St Paul must have known the state of mind of his readers. Probably Priscilla and Aquila gave him information. They had been members of the Roman church, and he had lived with them for several years at Corinth and at Ephesus. From many passages in the epistle we gather that the Roman church, in which there were companions and friends of St Paul's, accepted a type of doctrine similar to that taught by him (xvi. 17). He thanks God (vi. 17) because they have obeyed from the heart unto that form of doctrine into which they had been delivered, he thanks God also because their faith is praised in the whole world, he wishes to see them to confirm them in the faith which is common to him and to them (i. 12), he writes to them only to remind them (xv. 15).

All these texts show that he knew that they accepted the Gospel in much the same way as he accepted it. He invites them (xvi. 17-20) to watch over those who cause dissensions. These were probably judaisers. Consequently the doctrine of the

Romans was not that of the adversaries of St Paul. But it is also probable that the judaisers had not yet reached Rome or at least had not yet created any disturbance there. For they do not seem to have reached Corinth much before St Paul wrote the epistles to the Corinthians, and there is no reason why they should have gone to Rome, since their object was to oppose Paul. Therefore they followed him wherever he went, and did not go to Rome before him.

The weak ones in the fourteenth chapter were probably converts from Judaism, and their errors were moral rather than dogmatic. St Paul speaks only of scruples as to food or as to the observance of certain days. Therefore we may conclude that the doctrine of this church was in agreement with St Paul's doctrine.

The whole tone of the epistle is in favour of this view ; it is affectionate throughout. You feel that he is not on his guard. He writes to friends and not to enemies. Does this mean that the Roman church had taken his side in the conflict with judaisers ? By no means. It was neutral, it did not know Christianity except as the first apostles had taught it ; the question of legal observances had not been raised in it. Otherwise we could not understand how this epistle came to be written, or why St Paul develops his doctrine so fully. In a word : he neither attacks nor defends, he simply teaches. And we must now endeavour to understand what his purpose was in making this doctrinal statement.

3. OBJECT OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

Erroneous suppositions.—Godet (Ep. aux Rom.) mentions some sixty explanations, and he might have

put the figure higher. "From," he writes, "the most general and dogmatic explanation of the object of this epistle to the most particular, local or personal conception of it, there is an infinite series of intuitions beginning in the very earliest times in the Church and continuing down to our own days." A dogmatic purpose is attributed to this epistle by the Greek Fathers : Origen, Chrysostom, etc. and by the canon of Muratori which says that Paul wrote to the Romans : "*Christum esse principium Scripturarum intimans.*" St Augustin and the Ambrosiaster attribute to it a polemical purpose, or the purpose of reconciling Jews and Gentiles. All the opinions may be reduced to two : that the object was dogmatic (Theodoretus, Œcumenius, Theophylactus, St Thomas, Cornely, and in general the Catholic commentators), or that it was historical, polemical, apologetic or conciliatory (St Augustin, St Hilary, Hug, Eichhorn, Baur and his school).

Let us take the second opinion now, for the first with the proper additions and restrictions is the true one. Baur says that St Paul's epistles were all written for some occasion, a superficial reading of those to the Corinthians or Galatians shows at once for what purpose and on what occasion they were written. Then why should he have given a detailed exposition of his gospel, why should he have refuted the objections of the judeo-christians, why did he give a long statement of the position of Israel with regard to salvation, if these things were not required by the general situation of the church of Rome? That church contained a majority of judaisers who denied that the way of salvation was open to Pagans. St Paul opposes that doctrine by pointing out that both Jews and Pagans were guilty of sin and that justification came to both from the gratuitous grace of God.

Then he explains how God rejected the Jews, but explains also that their rejection is only temporary, and that the Pagans first and then the Jews are to come to salvation. Chapters ix. and xi. are in this view the very centre of the epistle.

With more or less modification this theory has been generally adopted by Protestant and liberal critics. But it is now losing ground. People are beginning to recognise that it does not fit in with what we learn from the epistle itself, which does not allow us to believe that there was in Rome a majority of judeo-christians with an anti-pauline tendency. We need not repeat now what we have already said on this subject. We need only say that if he had been writing against opponents he would not have been so calm. If the Romans had been infected with judaism he would have said so plainly, whereas he makes only a veiled allusion to adversaries (xvi. 17-18). Consequently his purpose in this epistle was not polemical.

Probable purpose.—This epistle is not an attempt to state the whole of Christian Doctrine. There is next to nothing in it concerning Christology and Eschatology. He may have wished to give a summary of his actual polemics with the judeo-christians. He may have wished to state fully what he had stated in outline in the epistle to the Galatians. He may have composed a circular letter in order to sum up his teaching on this point. All these things are possibly true. But let us confine ourselves to the consideration of the special purpose that he had in view.

We have already shown that through Aquila and Priscilla, who by this time had returned to live in Rome, and through other friends, St Paul was well informed of the state of that church. It was the

knowledge that he obtained from these friends that enabled him to allude to the weak and the strong, and to know that exhortations to peace and concord would be useful.

But his principal object in writing was to prepare the church for his visit. He hoped to create an impression favourable to himself by showing what was especially his own in his teaching, viz. the universality and the gratuitous nature of salvation. He told the Romans of this, because he knew that they did not fully know it. He replies beforehand to the judaisers, in the hope of preserving the church from any change of doctrine. He wishes to go to Rome. But he must first go to Jerusalem where he has many enemies. He may fall into the hands of his persecutors. He may never be able to visit Rome. Therefore he writes. He wishes to confide his thoughts to the faithful who are at the centre of the Empire. Hence the epistle is an epitome both of the external history of the Church and of the interior experience of his own mind. Bearing this twofold purpose in mind, we shall find less difficulty in understanding the epistle.

He writes on his usual plan. He devotes the last chapters to counsel and exhortations, but in the first part he explains and defends his doctrine and his gospel to prepare them for a visit, and gives in so doing the result of the twenty years of his apostleship. His purpose therefore is both personal to himself and his readers and it is also of a general nature, for in the course of his exposition of his doctrine he forgets the persons to whom he is writing, that is why he speaks to them sometimes as if they were Jews and sometimes as if they were Pagans; in reality in these passages the Jews and

Pagans are conventional, except of course where it is evident as in i. 5 that he is writing of his readers. This explains the antinomy by which he addresses his readers both as Jews and as Gentiles, and the analysis of the epistle will make it still clearer.

The epistle shows the realisation of the justice of God in man by the development of three fundamental ideas: the justification of man, the life of a justified man, and the action of God in the justification of humanity. These three ideas may be reduced to two: the salvation and election of man.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE

The prologue is in i. 1-15; then comes the body of the epistle (i. 16-xv. 13) and the epilogue (xv. 14-xvi. 27).

Prologue.—This is longer than usual. As St Paul is writing to a church to which he is personally unknown he enumerates his titles, explains why he writes, and endeavours to gain the good will of his readers. He thanks God because their faith is spoken of everywhere, he prays that he may be able to visit them, he wishes to have some fruit among them as among other Gentiles, he is ready to preach to them the Gospel. That last word *Gospel* serves to introduce the subject on which he is going to write: the teaching of the Gospel (i. 16-xi. 36) and the practice of it (xii. 1-xv. 13).

Dogmatic part (i. 16-xi. 36).—The Gospel is given for the salvation of all men. But how does man escape the anger of God and attain salvation? He shows how man is justified, (2) the effects of justification on man's life, (3) the action of God in the

election of man. Or one might divide this part into two sections : salvation (1) as regards individuals, (2) as regards humanity.

Justification of man (i. 18-v. 21).—God wishes all men to be saved both Jews and Gentiles. The Gentiles are guilty because they could have known God and have not known Him, or because knowing Him they have not glorified Him. They worshipped idols. Therefore God gave them over to impurity.

Then he turns to the Jews to show that they too are guilty, and he begins by denouncing them for condemning the Gentiles for sins that the Jews too commit, shows that circumcision is of no avail to those who transgress the law, and that the uncircumcised are counted as circumcised if they keep the law.

Next in iii. he answers objections that may be made by the Jews : what advantage has the Jew, and what profit is there in circumcision ? He says that their advantage is great in every way. First because the word of God was entrusted to them. If some of them have not believed, still God is true, our injustice commends the justice of God when He executeth wrath.

Jews and Greeks are all under sin, as it is written : “There is not any man just.” He goes on to prove this by quoting from other parts of Scripture.

Justification comes freely by grace through the Redemption in Christ Jesus. God is not the God of the Jews only, He is also the God of the Gentiles, He justifies circumcision by faith and uncircumcision through faith.

This doctrine does not destroy the law through faith, on the contrary it establishes the law. He proves it by the example of Abraham who was justified by faith before the law, and became the father

of all the faithful both in circumcision and in uncircumcision. His faith was reputed to him unto justice, and that was not written only for him, but also for us, to whom it shall be reputed if we believe in Him that raised up Jesus Christ Our Lord from the dead.

The fruit of justification is that we have peace with God through Christ. He compares the results of Christ's death with the results of Adam's sin, showing the former to be the greater. The law came to make sin abound, but grace hath more abounded.

Sanctification of man (vi. 1-viii. 39).—Being baptised in the death of Christ we are dead to sin, sin must not reign in our bodies, it must not have dominion over us. We are loosed from the law, we must serve in the newness of spirit and not in the oldness of letter. Man is delivered from sin by the Spirit of God dwelling in him, and if this Spirit dwells in us, He that raised up Jesus will quicken our mortal bodies. This leads the Apostle on to give a description of the life of the spirit and of the life of the flesh. The spirit gives testimony to our spirit that we are the sons of God, heirs of God, and co-heirs with Christ. We suffer with Christ, and we shall be glorified with Him. If Almighty God delivered up His Son for us, how hath he not also with him given us all things? Nothing in death or life, etc., can now separate us from the love of God.

God's action in our election and justification (ix. 1-xi. 36).—St Paul having shown that faith is what justifies, and that consequently there are no longer any Jewish privileges, since faith is accessible to all men; goes on to show how the Jews rejected the Messiah, whereas the Pagans accepted Him. This leads him on to speak of how God rejected Israel

(ix. 1-29), of the cause of this rejection (ix. 30-x. 21), and of God's purpose in rejecting them (xi. 1-36).

Justice of the rejection of Israel (ix. 1-29).—St Paul protests his attachment to his own nation. He had even wished to be anathema from Christ for their sake. He is filled with sorrow for their rejection. But God's promises have not been broken. They were made to the descendants of Abraham by the promise, not to his descendants according to the flesh. He proves this by the case of Jacob and Esau. God is free to bestow His mercy on whom He will. We cannot question His right any more than the clay can question the right of the potter. Therefore we must not ask why God "findeth fault, for who resisteth His will?" He quotes from the prophets Osee and Isaias passages that foretell the rejection of Israel and the election of the Gentiles.

Cause of the rejection of Israel (ix. 30-x. 20).—Israel wished to do right. He bears them witness that they have the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. They sought justice in works and not in faith. Christ is the end of the law. "Whoever believeth in Him shall not be confounded." He quotes from Isaias and Moses passages that foretell the rejection of the Jews.

The rejection not complete or final (xi. 1-36).—St Paul belongs to the people of Israel, to the tribe of Benjamin. He is also the apostle to the Gentiles, and he wishes to honour his ministry; but he wishes also to save some of his own nation. He provokes the Israelites to emulation of the Gentiles. He shows that of old, in the time of Elias, a remnant was saved. So now some of the old branches are broken off and a wild branch is grafted on, but it is the root that bears the branches and not the branches that

bear the root. They were broken off by unbelief, and we stand by faith. We profit now by the ingrafting, "but how much more shall they that are the natural branches be grafted into their own olive tree?" In the end God will have mercy on the Jews. His gifts and calling are without repentance. We must not question His right in now calling the Gentiles or in rejecting the Jews for a time. "For who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been His counsellor?"

Moral part (xii. 1-xv. 13).—St Paul exhorts the Romans to give to God a reasonable service. He speaks of unity in one body, of the difference of gifts, and of the virtues of patience, hospitality, etc. Then in the thirteenth chapter he refers to the obedience to secular rulers which he knows it to be of importance to press the obligation of upon the Jews, and in the fourteenth he addresses to the Gentiles an exhortation somewhat similar to the one that he addressed to the Jews in the second chapter on not judging others, with this difference that the former exhortation dealt with stealing and adultery, whereas the present one deals with the judgments pronounced by those who are strong in the faith against those who are weak with regard to clean or unclean food. In the fifteenth chapter he speaks again of unity, and shows again that both Jews and Gentiles are called of God, the former on account of His promise, the latter on account of His mercy.

Epilogue (xv. 14-xvi. 27).—He is certain that they are full of knowledge, that they are able to admonish one another. Yet he has written to them "more boldly in some sort" wishing as a minister of Christ among the Gentiles to have some part in their sanctification. He does not dare to speak of the

great work that is being done among the Gentiles by others, but round about from Jerusalem to Illyricum he has preached where Christ had not been named, for he would not build on another man's foundation. This very cause had up to now hindered him from going to them. But now his work in those countries is finished. He wishes to go to Spain, and hopes to see the Romans "*as I pass.*" But now he goes to Jerusalem with the money collected in Macedonia and Achaia. When he has performed this act of charity, he will go through Rome to Spain. He begs the Romans to pray that he may be delivered from the unbelievers that are in Judea that he may go to Rome by the will of God. The sixteenth chapter begins with a recommendation of Phœbe the deaconess. And then follow a number of salutations, in which one interruption occurs, where he denounces those who make dissensions. Then he continues with salutations from his companions, and concludes by giving honour and glory to God.

5. AUTHENTICITY OF THE EPISTLE

All the critics, except some three or four eccentrics, admit that St Paul is the author of this epistle. Therefore we need not undertake to prove its authenticity. We need only briefly state the hypotheses put forward by the rationalists together with a few words by way of an answer, then we must trace the literary history of the epistle, that is we must show how it stands in relation to certain books of the New Testament or to Early Christian writings, and finally we must discuss the authenticity of chapters xv. and xvi. which is now called in question by critics.

1. *Rationalist Hypotheses*

The first to deny the authenticity of this epistle was an Englishman named Evanson, his arguments are historical, but they are unworthy of discussion. Bruno Bauer followed Evanson. Recently Loman has come forward with an entirely new system: according to him the real Paul was not what we have been told, and he never played the part that has been attributed to him. Christianity was a messianic movement that arose among the Jews, it realised a series of Jewish ideas, viz.: the Messiah representing the Jewish nation, the servant of Jaweh, the suffering Messiah; these ideas became developed in the second century, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and they became embodied in Christianity. The historic Paul preached this movement in the Diaspora and in the Roman world, it is only later that this originally Jewish movement became universalist. What profit is there in discussing such a system as this? Every part of it is fabricated. And every fact in it is in opposition to known historical facts.

Steck (*Galaterbrief*) places this epistle in the second century. He finds in it passages taken from Philo, Seneca, the Assumption of Moses, and the fourth of Esdras, all which belong to the first century or to the beginning of the second century. According to him this epistle is the first letter published by the greco-roman party against the legalist party which was endeavouring to establish itself in the Christian Church. This hypothesis falls foul of Clement and of other writers of the apostolic age to whom this epistle was known, this means that at the very beginning of the second century the

epistle was universally known, and according to the hypothesis it could not have been. Or again he supposes that the epistle is the result of the meditations of greco-roman philosophers. But the fundamental ideas of the epistle are Jewish: justification by faith is not a Greek idea, it is found in Gen. xv. 6. The necessity of grace is quite contrary to the philosophy that then prevailed among the Romans: the Stoics attribute virtue to man's own energising. The ideas of the renovation of nature and of man and the idea of the resurrection are quite foreign to Greek philosophy.

Pierson and Naber (*Verisimilia*) have imagined a system in which the history is entirely fictitious: they say that in the beginning of the Christian era there was a school of Jewish universalist thinkers, who made numbers of disciples among the Pagans. The parts of the epistles of St Paul where bold ideas abound most are the work of one of these unknown Jewish scholars. In the fourth century a certain Paulus Episcopus took up these letters, christianised them, and adopted them to the ideas of the time. Is there anything in all this that requires refutation? The absurdity of it all comes out in the mere statement.

Van Manen (*Theol. Tijdschrift*) believes that there are interpolations in this epistle, and endeavours to reconstitute Marcion's text which he believes to be the original text.

Spitta (*Untersuchungen*) is more moderate. He treats this epistle as he treats the other books of the New Testament. He believes that all of them are made up of scraps and pieces. In his opinion this epistle is made up of two letters, both written by St Paul; the first one consisted of chapters i.-xi, 36

and xv. 8-33 and xvi. 21-27, the second consisted of chapters xii.-xv. 7 and xvi. 1-20. This hypothesis would make a great difference in our estimate of the readers to whom St Paul wrote, but does not interfere with the authenticity.

Underlying all these theories there is the notion that in the epistle to the Romans there is an original part written by St Paul or by some other writer, and that this original part has undergone rehandlings and additions. But our analysis showed a clear and distinct plan in the epistle in which one part followed logically upon another, and our conclusion was that it was a real treatise. There may be digressions in it, and some reasonings may be left unfinished, but we know why that is so; there is always a logical connection throughout either in the thoughts or in the words. The language is identical all through, and it is undoubtedly the very language of the other pauline epistles. Can we believe that interpolators were able to imitate so well this very marked style of writing? We must either reject all the other epistles, or we must admit that this one is authentic.

Finally, all the facts mentioned here fit in with what we know from elsewhere. Cf. Rom. xv. 25 = Acts xxiv. 17 = 1 Cor. xvi. 1-4 = 2 Cor. viii. 1-4 and Rom. xvi. 21 = Acts xx. 4. Rom. xvi. 3 = Acts xviii. 2 = 1 Cor. xvi. 19 and Rom. xvi. 23 = Acts xix. 22 and Rom. i. 13 = Acts xix. 21. No better *résumé* could be made of St Paul's missionary journeys than the one given (Rom. xv. 19). The verses 30, 31 and 32 in that chapter cannot have been written in the second century, St Paul there asks for prayers that he may be delivered from the unbelieving Jews, no second-century writer would have dared

to put that down knowing what had happened. Besides the literary history of the epistle shows that it was known from the very beginning.

2. *Literary History of the Epistle to the Romans*

This epistle occupies no isolated position among the pauline writings. It is closely allied to the epistle to the Galatians both in style and in subject-matter, so much so that the one has been taken for a duplicate or development or *résumé* of the other. We shall see later on that there is a close connection between this epistle and that to the Ephesians, we shall see that certain doctrines that are peculiar to that epistle are contained in germ in the epistle to the Romans.

Between this epistle and St Peter's first epistle the resemblance is significant, the doctrines and even the expressions are connected. We shall explain this when we come to St Peter's epistle.

Between this and St James's epistle there is a connection that gives rise to a very difficult problem both theologically and exegetically or critically. Without going into the question of what the two writers mean by faith and good works, we must note that St James teaches that faith without works cannot save us (ii. 14-17), whereas St Paul builds his whole teaching to the Romans on faith justifying us without works though afterwards it does produce good works. The points of view are different but not contradictory. A list of 21 passages has been made where the two epistles may be said to meet, several appear to us to be problematical, the following 7 deserve to be inquired into :

Rom. ii. 1 = James iv. 11.

Rom. ii. 13 = James i. 22.

Rom. iv. 1 = James ii. 21.

Rom. iv. 20 = James i. 6.

Rom. v. 3 = James i. 2.

Rom. vii. 23 = James iv. 1.

Rom. xiii. 12 = James i. 21.

At present we merely mention these, later on we shall examine them in detail when we come to the epistle of St James.

The doxology Rom. xvi. 25-27 and the one in Jude 24-25 are similar in some respects. But all doxologies are more or less alike. Probably there was a stereotyped form from which they are all derived.

The points of connection between the epistle to the Romans and subapostolic writings are numerous and certain. Clement of Rome often quotes this epistle or rather he makes use of the same expressions as this epistle. Funk has made a list of 16 passages, among the most striking are the following: Rom. i. 21 = 1 Cor. xxxvi. 2, Rom. xiii. 1-2 = 1 Cor. xi. 1, Rom. i. 29 = 1 Cor. 35. Sanday mentions 11 passages in this epistle of which traces may be found in the epistles of Ignatius: the following are the most noteworthy: Rom. i. 3 = Smyrn. i. 1, Rom. xiv. 17 = Trall. xi. 3. We find 6 passages from this epistle in Polycarp's Philippi: Rom. vi. 13 and xiii. 12 = Phil. iv. 1, Rom. xii. 10 = Phil. x. 1. It is worthy of notice that Polycarp quotes from nearly all the epistles of St Paul. That points to his having them in a collection, and we cannot be astonished at his having collected them when we know that he wished to have a collection of the letters of Ignatius (xiii. 2).

We find passages from this epistle in the writings attributed by Hippolytus (Philosophoumena) to the

Naassenians, to the Valentinians of Italy, and to Basilides. Sanday supplies 13 passages from the *Test. 12 Patriarchs* which are almost word for word taken from this epistle. This would be valuable evidence if we knew for certain the date of that document. Kautzsch (*Die Apok. und Pseud des A. T.*) holds that these *Testaments* are the work of a Christian who made use of two Jewish documents. But when? Was it in the first or in the second century? Probably about the beginning of the second, in any case they were known in their Christian form to Ireneus. And finally there is the testimony of Ireneus: "*Hoc ipsum interpretatus est Paulus scribens ad Romanos*" (adv. Her. 3, 16, 3).

There is no advantage in carrying this literary history any further. No one disputes that from the middle of the second century this epistle was in existence and was known. The quotations to which we have referred are not textual, yet they show that Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp knew this epistle, and the fact that they knew it proves that East and West possessed copies. Marcion placed it in his *Apostolicon* with the title *πρὸς ῥωμαίους* which shows that he took it from a pre-existing collection, and even in other ways it is not probable that Marcion was the first to collect these writings. Finally the canonicity of this epistle is placed beyond doubt by the Canon of Muratori which was the Canon of the Roman church towards the end of the second century: "*Cum ipse beatus apostolus Paulus scribat ordine tali ad Corinthios prima . . . ad Romanos septima.*" This is not the chronological order. Nor do we know what order it is. This epistle to the Romans is not generally in the first place among the pauline epistles until the fourth century.

3. *Authenticity of Chapters xv.-xvi.*

There are two matters to be inquired into: the authenticity of the final doxology (xvi. 25-27) and the authenticity of the two chapters as a whole.

Authenticity of the Doxology.—In the MSS. & B.C. D.f. in the versions of the Vulgate, Peschitto, Memphitic and Ethiopian, in Origen, Ambrose and Pelagius in all editions this doxology comes at the end of the sixteenth chapter. The MSS. L. 37, 48, most of the cursives, the Harclean version, Chrysostom, Theodoretus, Cyril of Alexandria and other Fathers place it at the end of the fourteenth chapter. The MSS. A.P. 17, and the Armenian version have it both at the end of the fourteenth and of the sixteenth chapters. It is omitted in F.G. altogether. These variations of position are very ancient, for Origen mentions them. St Jerome in *Eph.* iii. 5, says that this doxology exists in most MSS. *in plerisque codicibus* which implies that it was not in all of them. Another objection is that the doxology does not fit in with the meaning either in xiv. 23 or in xvi. 24 and that St Paul does not usually end his epistles with a doxology. The expressions are obscure, it is said, and meaningless, the sentence is embarrassed and redundant, the thoughts are not pauline. Therefore this doxology whose position is unknown is unauthentic. We have to examine two points:

The place of the Doxology.—From a textual point of view, its place at the end of the sixteenth chapter has most of the documentary evidence in its favour; three different groups and the ancient MSS. lend it their authority. Yet the Greek Church from the fourth century seems to have had it at the end of the

fourteenth chapter. It may have been placed there because as a rule the pauline epistles have no doxology at the end, the doxologies occur in the body of the letters; the context of xiv. 26 seemed to require it, perhaps that is why it was put there. One cannot imagine any reason why it should have been taken from the fourteenth to be placed in the sixteenth. It is also possible that some MSS. conformed to the way in which it was the custom to read this epistle in public; the last two chapters were probably not read out aloud on account of their purely historical and personal character, so they were left out of the liturgical MSS. and the doxology was transferred to the fourteenth chapter to serve as a termination. As for the MSS. that have it in both places, the writers evidently did not know to which place it belonged.

The great majority of the authorities have the doxology in one of the places. Only two uncial MSS. omit it altogether, F. and G. and they constitute only one authority because they come both from one archetype, moreover they omit it with hesitation, for G. leaves a space for it and F. puts it in in Latin. Nothing can be said as to the MSS. to which those few words of St Jerome allude, because we know neither their number nor importance. Internal reasons against the authenticity are not very conclusive. St Paul might have ended this epistle with a doxology on account of its dogmatic importance. The embarrassed construction, the pleonasms and the equivocal expressions are not foreign to his ordinary style. In fact they are recognised as pauline, for they are said to have been borrowed from other passages that are authentic. There is therefore no plausible reason for pronouncing the doxology to be unauthentic, or for placing it in the fourteenth chapter.

4. *Authenticity of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters*

External objections.—According to Origen, Marcion cut off from this epistle everything after: *Omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est* (xiv. 23). Tertullian says that the words *tribunal Christi* are at the end of the epistle, and they are in xiv. 10, therefore Tertullian did not know the last two chapters. Neither he nor Ireneus nor probably St Cyprian ever quoted from them. The MSS. that had the doxology in chapter fourteen had not the last two chapters probably.

These arguments do not prove that the church did not originally receive the two chapters as having been written by St Paul. If Marcion cut them off, that proves that they were there before that heretic cut them off; Marcion was moved by considerations of dogma and not by critical considerations, his act is the best proof that the chapters are authentic. As for Tertullian, he was arguing against Marcion, and so it was natural for him to say that *tribunal Christi* was at the end of the epistle, since for Marcion the fourteenth chapter was the last. If Tertullian, Ireneus and Cyprian never quote from these chapters, we can easily understand why they do not: it is because they are dogmatically of so little importance. Finally the presence of the doxology at the end of the fourteenth chapter can be explained much more simply than by the suppression of the two chapters.

Internal arguments and hypotheses.—Baur (Paulus, p. 393), relying upon internal arguments which we shall discuss farther on, rejects bodily the two chapters. That is a radical method, but it solves no difficulty and it creates serious difficulties. Why should the epistle end with: "All that is not of faith is sin"?

That is not a conclusion. The epistle should go at least as far as xv. 6 to find a conclusion. But the following verses down to 13 are quite in the pauline manner, his custom is to prove what he says by texts from Scripture. The other verses contain historical details, and we have seen that they are in agreement with facts that we know of the life of St Paul. Finally how can one understand an interpolater putting in all those names contrary to St Paul's custom in the sixteenth chapter? What advantage was there in it?

Renan finds Baur's solution clumsy. Taking into account all the internal and external facts, he conjectures that the epistle to the Romans was a circular letter to which an ending was attached that varied with the church to which it was sent; there was one copy for the Romans containing chapters i.-xi. and xv., one for the Ephesians with the chapters i.-xiv. and xvi. 1-20, one for the Thessalonians with the chapters i.-xiv. and xvi. 21-24, one for some unknown church with the chapters i.-xiv. and xvi. 25-27.

Renan based all this manipulation on internal arguments that we shall examine farther on, but especially on the four terminations that he found in the epistle: xv. 33, xvi. 20-24-27. Now the termination in xvi. 24 is a repetition of one in verse 20 which is not found in the ancient MSS., it is not found in \aleph A.B.C., nor in the Codices of the Vulgate, Amiatinus, Fuldensis, Harleiensis, nor in the versions Bohairic or Ethiopian, nor in Origen's; it is inserted in the MSS. D.E.F.G. at verse 24, but omitted at verse 20. The Codex L., the Vulgate, St John Chrysostom and all the later authorities have it both in verse 20 and 24. Therefore the original text must have had the blessing in verse 20 and nowhere else. External evidence is in favour of that place, and the

reduplication can be explained. There remain therefore only two blessings (xv. 33 and xvi. 20). In xxvii. there is a doxology but not a final blessing. Then what becomes of the four churches among which this epistle was to be divided?

Renan's conjecture has consequently been set aside. But a great many critics: Mangold, Reuss, Ritschl, Holsten, Weiss, Weizsacker, Farrar, maintain that the list of persons to whom salutations were sent belonged to the copy intended for the church of Ephesus. Some critics attribute the verses xvi. 1-2 to the copy intended for Rome. Let us briefly state and discuss the arguments that are put forward in favour of these hypotheses.

It is said that certain passages in the sixteenth chapter cannot have been written by St Paul, since in xv. 20 he takes credit for not preaching where Christ had been announced. How could he write that to Christians whom he had not evangelised? In answer we say that the idea of not trespassing on another man's field of labour is quite pauline (2 Cor. xx. 15-16), and he was not trespassing in writing to the Romans, because he was writing to Gentiles, and was the apostle of the Gentiles according to the agreement made in Jerusalem between him and the other apostles (Gal, ii. 3).

He sends salutations to 24 persons. Can he have known such a number in a town which he had never visited? And how is it that he sends salutations to so many persons here, when in his epistles to churches in which he had lived he sends no salutations to individuals except in 2 Tim. iv. 19 and Col. iv. 15? In answer let us call attention to the fact that 16 of these persons have Greek names, consequently they may be Orientals, and he

may have become acquainted with them in the East. People who lived upon the shores of the Mediterranean were nomadic, and sooner or later they went to try their fortunes in Rome. We know from Latin historians that people from all parts of the world poured into Rome. Probably St Paul mentioned every person that he knew in order that no one might be jealous, and of course he could not do this in other epistles when he knew all those to whom he wrote. Finally there is a salutation in the epistle to the Colossians whom he had not preached the Gospel to.

It is objected also that Priscilla and Aquila cannot have been in Rome at this time, because they were at Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 19) a few months earlier, and we find them there again (2 Tim. iv. 19). These facts are correct. But they do not prove that these persons were not in Rome. For they were great travellers. Originally they belonged to Pontus, they were expelled from Rome under Claudius, they went to Corinth (Acts xviii.), then to Ephesus (*ib.* and 1 Cor. xvi. 19). Why should they not have gone to Rome again? Nine months elapse between the mention of their stay in Ephesus and that of their being in Rome. And why should they not have gone back again to Ephesus? There is room for a stay in Rome of some years.

Of the 24 mentioned 16 have Greek names, 1 a Hebrew name, and 7 Latin names. Garucci has discovered twice as many Latin as Greek names among the Jewish inscriptions in Rome. But we can easily understand that St Paul knew more Greeks. Besides most of these Jewish inscriptions belong to a later period. If we want to know how the church of Rome was constituted in primitive

times, we need only look at the list of the Popes of the first two centuries: we shall find 12 Greek names and only 3 Latin names. Garucci's statistics do not seem very reliable, for Schürer has published 45 inscriptions taken from the Jewish cemeteries in the times of the Emperors: 25 names in them are Greek, 3 are Hebrew, and 17 are Latin.

Lightfoot (Ep. to Philip. p. 171) has examined collections of the mortuary inscriptions in Rome with the result that all the names mentioned in the sixteenth chapter of this epistle, even those that are uncommon names, occur in the *Columbaria* of the household of the Cesars in the first century. That does not prove that the persons in the epistle are the same as those who are mentioned in the epitaphs, but it proves that those names were in use in Rome. On the other hand, at Ephesus among the mortuary inscriptions only three out of the 24 can be found, and in Asia Minor generally only 12; Rome is the only place where all these names: Greek, Latin, and Jewish are to be found.

In conclusion therefore there is no good reason for rejecting these two chapters as unauthentic, or for supposing that they do not belong to this epistle. We believe then according to the whole of Christian tradition that the epistle to the Romans as it stands in our editions is from the beginning to the end the work of St Paul and that it was addressed to the church of Rome.

CHAPTER VI

EPISTLES OF THE CAPTIVITY

THE epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians and Philemon constitute a distinct group, separated from the other pauline epistles both by style and by doctrine, and yet are closely connected with those other epistles. It is impossible to study them one by one, because the connection between them is so marked, especially as regards the time and place of composition; therefore we will begin with what applies to all the four, and then we will treat of the special questions that refer to each one of them.

St Paul was probably at Corinth, where he spent the winter of 57-58, when he wrote the epistle to the Romans. He left that city to go to Jerusalem, but instead of going by sea, which was the shortest way, he went by land through Macedonia to Philippi, then to Troas and Miletus where he embarked for Tyre and Cesarea, and finally reached Jerusalem. He took this route in order to avoid the snares of the Jews (Acts xx. 3), and also because he wished once more to visit the churches that he had founded; he never hoped to see them again, for all his presentiments regarding his journey to Jerusalem were sad (*ib.* 23); and in any case his plan was after this voyage to go to Rome and to the West (Rom. xv. 24).

The next day after he reached Jerusalem, he went to see James the Apostle in whose house the ancients were assembled, St Paul narrated to them what God

had accomplished through his ministry among the Gentiles, and they gave glory to God (Acts xxi. 17-20). Nevertheless, as many of the Jewish Christians believed that Paul taught that the Jews should no longer keep the Mosaic Law, the ancients exhorted him to take with him four men who were under a vow, to go with them to the Temple, and to purify himself with them, in order that all men might know that what he was accused of was false and that he walked keeping the law. Paul consented, went to the Temple, and performed the requisite purifications and sacrifices. But some Jews from Asia recognised him in the Temple, stirred up the people against him, and he was saved from their fury only by the intervention of Roman soldiers who came down on account of the noise of the tumult (*ib.* 20-24). They made Paul a prisoner and took him to Cesarea to the Roman proconsul Felix, he remained there a prisoner for two years, and then as he appealed to the Emperor, Festus the successor of Felix sent him to Rome.

In Rome he was a prisoner for two years, he was allowed to dwell in a lodging of his own in the custody of a soldier, and he was able to receive visitors and to preach the Gospel. It is during these years of captivity that in all probability he wrote these four epistles.

1. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING

He makes mention of his chains and his captivity in all these epistles: Eph. vi. 20; Col. iv. 3; Philip. i. 13; Eph. iii. 1 and iv. 1; Col. iv. 10-18; Philem. 9-23; Philip. i. 7-17. It is not easy to say what period of his imprisonment he alludes to in these

passages. We shall see later on that it seems certain that the epistle to the Philippians was written from Rome; the other three were entrusted to the same bearer Tychicus (Eph. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7) and must have been written at the same time; but some critics date them from Cesarea, others from Rome.

Tradition is unanimous in saying that they were written in Rome. We have evidence to this effect in the uncial MSS. B.**P.K.L. and in the small type ones (12, 37, 44, etc.), in the Syriac and Coptic versions, in St John Chrys., Theodoretus, Euthalius, etc.; we have evidence for the epistle to the Colossians in uncials A.B.' P.K. in small type MSS. (12, 42, 109) in the Syriac versions, in the above Greek Fathers, in St Jerome, and in the Synopsis attributed to Athanasius; we have much the same evidence for the epistle to Philemon. The immense majority of Catholic critics and many Protestants: Mangold, Klöpfer, Ewald, Holtzman, Oltramare, Godet, von Soden, Abbott, Murray, Lock, Harnack accept this tradition. On the other hand some Catholic writers and the majority of Protestant critics: Reuss, Meyer, Schenkel, Weiss, Hilgenfeld, Hausrath, Pfleiderer believe that they were written from Cesarea. The arguments on both sides are as follows.

St Paul enjoyed greater liberty at Rome than at Cesarea. In Cesarea he was confined in the pretorium, and was allowed to hold communications only with his friends (Acts xxiv. 23). At Rome he was chained to a soldier, but lived in his own lodging, and was allowed to receive all that came to see him. He could preach Christ freely. He could therefore there have with him the many friends whom he mentions: Tychicus, Timothy, Onesimus, Aristarchus, Mark, Jesus Justus, Epaphras, Luke, Demas; but

we do not see how these can have been with him at Cesarea.

Those who favour Cesarea reply that as he enjoyed so much freedom at Rome, he cannot have written from there to the Colossians (iv. 3) "Pray that God may open unto us a door of speech to speak the mystery of Christ for which I am bound."

On the other hand he could not have had with him at Cesarea the runaway slave Onesimus, nor Epaphras as a companion in slavery (Col. i. 7), nor Aristarchus as a fellow-prisoner (Col. iv. x.). And besides Onesimus on running away from Colossæ did not probably go to Cesarea where he might easily have been found, it is more likely that he went to Rome; though to this the reply is that Cesarea was relatively nearer to Colossæ, but that communications with Rome were easier.

In the epistle to Philemon, which was written at the same time, he asks that a lodging may be prepared for him at Colossæ. How could he intend to go to Asia Minor so soon after bidding farewell to the presbyters of Ephesus (Acts xx. 36) especially as we know that he had planned to go to Rome and to Spain (Rom. xv. 24)? The reply to this is that the Apostle may have changed his plans, and that he writes to the Philippians (ii. 24): "I trust that I shall come to see you shortly."

If he had written from Rome about 61-62 he would have said something to the Colossians or Ephesians of the earthquake that caused so much havoc in 60-61 in Laodicea and in the neighbourhood. This is an argument *ex silentio* which proves nothing, especially as we do not know whether Colossæ suffered by the earthquake.

He writes (Col. iv. 10) that only three judeo-

christians have laboured with him in the kingdom of God. If he wrote that letter from Rome, what has become of the many friends to whom he sent salutations in his epistle to the Romans? It is indeed astonishing that only these three circumcised Christians should be mentioned. But the mention of them does not exclude the others who were perhaps converts from Paganism, and the Apostle seems to lay stress upon the fact that only these three from the circumcision were a comfort to him.

After weighing all that can be said on both sides, we think that these epistles were written from Rome; though we must admit that it is possible that they were written from Cesarea.

It is impossible for us to tell the order in which they were written. We will begin with the one to the Ephesians, because its matter is of more general application, and then we will take the one to the Colossians and the one to Philemon which have a more special purpose; and finally we shall see that probably the one to the Philippians was written last.

2. TO WHOM WAS THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS WRITTEN?

A preliminary question suggests itself: Was it written to the Ephesians only, or was it a circular letter addressed to several churches? Opinions are divided. Let us begin by stating the facts.

Chapter i. 1 says: "Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God to all the saints who are [at Ephesus] and to the faithful in Jesus Christ." Were the words *at Ephesus* in the original? All the Greek MSS. except the Sinaitic, the Vatican

and 67 contain those words, and even the Vatican and the Sinaitic contain them written by another hand, and in 67 they were put in by the copyist but rubbed out by a corrector. All the ancient versions, the Canon of Muratori, and nearly all the Fathers read *at Ephesus*. Nevertheless the interpretation that St Basil says is traditional of the words τοῖς οὖν *those who are in the true way*, which is also the interpretation given by Origen, Victorinus Afer, Jerome, and Hilary, is only possible if *at Ephesus* is omitted. St Jerome says distinctly that some read simply “*ad eos qui sint.*” St Basil says that according to tradition *at Ephesus* was not in the text, and that he had found ancient MSS. in which it was omitted. Tertullian writing against Marcion in defence of this epistle having been written to the Ephesians, does not make use of the salutation *at Ephesus* to prove it, as he certainly would have done if he had had it in his copy. And we know from Tertullian that Marcion and other heretics held that the title of this epistle was: *to the Laodiceans*. This may be a conjecture of Marcion’s. He may have had in his possession an epistle without any name, and may have thought that it must be the one to the Laodiceans which is mentioned Col. iv. 16.

Can the epistle as we have it now have been written to the Ephesians? Let us remember how St Paul stood in relation to that church. He had founded it. He had spent three whole years in it—allowing for a probable absence of a few months—from the summer of 54 to Pentecost 57, and during that time he had never ceased exhorting the Christians there day and night with tears, as he says (Acts xx. 31). His preaching produced much fruit (Acts xix.). The Christians were devotedly attached to him, and

when they heard him bidding them farewell (Acts xx.) "there was much weeping among them all and falling upon the neck of Paul they kissed him, being grieved most of all for the word which he had said that they should see his face no more." When we remember this affecting scene, and we think of all the dangers and persecutions that they had gone through together, how can we understand the cold, grave, didactic tone of this epistle? Not a single personal reminiscence occurs in it, no allusion to his long stay among them, and especially none of the warmth of affection that he lavished on his spiritual children. He speaks more lovingly to the Colossians (Col. i. 8-9) whom he had never seen, whereas his good wishes to the Ephesians at the beginning and at the end of the epistle might apply in general to any Christian readers. Timothy, who was well known to them, is associated with the Apostle in the epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, but is here passed over in silence, though all these letters were written at one time. No salutations are sent from those who are with the Apostle in this epistle, though there are salutations sent in that to the Colossians.

Besides how could he who had preached the faith to the Ephesians write to them (i. 15): "I also hearing of your faith"? And iii. 2 he says: "If yet you have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given to me towards you." And again (iv. 21): "If so be that you have heard." It is true that the *if* is emphatic and not negative, it does not mean that the writer has any doubt. Still it is incomprehensible that St Paul should write in that way to his own disciples, to men who were indebted to him for all that they knew of the Gospel.

— Some critics conclude from these difficulties that

St Paul cannot be the author of this epistle. It seems to us on the contrary that a forger would have taken more pains to make it fit in with the known events of St Paul's life, he would have put in some references to the relations of the Apostle to the Ephesians, and especially would have avoided the words quoted above which tend to make the pauline origin of the epistle doubtful. Let us now state the hypotheses that have been put forward to explain these facts.

A certain number of critics: first Usher, and after him among Catholics Hug, Lamy, Bisping, Duchesne, Fouard, Schäfer, Belser, and among Protestants Reuss, Oltramare, Lightfoot, Hort, Weiss, Haupt, Abbott, Zahn think that this letter was a circular letter. It was addressed to the Christian churches of Asia. And Tichycus, who was also the bearer of the epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, was intended to hand this letter to the various churches and to give them news of the Apostle. There may have been several copies sent. Or each church may have made a copy and inserted its own name. This circular letter is probably the one that the Laodiceans were to send to the Colossians (Col. iv. 16) which was not specially intended for them and contained no salutations from the Apostle, since he sends salutations to the Laodiceans through the Colossians (Col. iv. 15). The whole of tradition looks upon the epistle as addressed to the Ephesians because probably the original was kept in Ephesus the metropolis of Asia. There must have been some copies with another address, since Marcion had one addressed to the Laodiceans.

This hypothesis that the letter was a circular intended for the ethnico-christian churches of Asia and Phrygia, most of which had not been evangelised by

St Paul, would explain its general and impersonal tone, the pains that he takes to present himself as the Apostle of the Gentiles, as well as his statement of what he had not by word of mouth taught them: the plan of God for the redemption of the human race.

Other critics especially Catholics: Goldhagen, Danko, Cornely maintain that it was addressed only to the Ephesians, because tradition is almost unanimous in saying so. And the internal difficulties are not impossible to meet. The passages i. 15; iii. 2; iv. 20 do not express doubts, on the contrary they are assertions of the knowledge of the Ephesians. The epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and 2 Cor. contain no salutations. And personal allusions which occur so frequently in some epistles may be said to be unsuitable in a purely dogmatic epistle like this one. Besides though St Paul sent this letter to the Ephesians, it is quite possible that he intended it to be read in other churches, and so avoided everything that was personal. Tychicus was intended to make all that good (vi. 21). The supposition that Tychicus carried copies with spaces left blank for the names of the various churches, is purely gratuitous and somewhat ridiculous. In any case, whether the epistle was meant for the Ephesians only or for other churches as well, the reasons why the Apostle wrote it are the same, for all the churches in proconsular Asia were in the one identical condition.

3. OBJECT OF THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS

All the moral and dogmatic teaching of this letter is of so general a character that there is some difficulty in discovering the occasion on which it was written.

St Paul may have wished to bring to completion on some particular point the teaching that he had given to the churches of Asia. Yet some points of contact between this epistle and the one to the Colossians, enable us to make some fairly plausible conjectures.

St Paul learned in prison from Epaphras what was the condition of Colossæ and of the other churches in Asia. He wrote therefore to the Colossians to warn them against certain false doctrines that had sprung up amongst them, and at the same time wrote another letter in more general terms, this is the letter that bears the name of the Ephesians. He follows his usual method in not directly attacking the errors that he aims at destroying, he explains the opposite truths.

Christianity had made rapid progress in Asia. The first converts were Jews, who were numerous in those parts on account of the protection granted to them first by the Greek Kings and then by the Roman Emperors. Next came the Gentiles attracted by the movement among the Jews. Both kinds contributed an element of disturbance: the Jews by claiming to have special privileges from God, the Gentiles by being without the moral sense. Besides, those countries being intermediary between Greece and the East, a fusion had taken place in them between Greek philosophy and Oriental theosophy, and from this fusion had arisen transcendental speculations on God, on the intermediary beings between God and man, and on the nature of matter. These errors had only just come into being when these epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians were written, we shall witness a development of them when we come to the pastoral epistles, and eventually they were systematised in the second century and took the name of gnosticism.

To meet these errors, the Apostle addresses his words at one time to Jews, at another time to Gentiles. The Jews despised the Gentiles, saying that they had no part in the Ancient Covenant. This obliged St Paul to explain to both parties the mystery that had specially been revealed to him: the Gospel to the apostleship of which God had called him. He had to show what place the Gentiles filled in the Church: that they were no longer strangers but fellow-citizens of the saints (Eph. ii. 19), that the wall of separation was broken down (ii. 14), that there was to be "one body, one spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all" (iv. 4). The purpose of the epistle is then to manifest God's eternal plan for the salvation of mankind through the redemption of Christ.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS

Besides the address, which is much shorter in this than in the other epistles, and takes up no more than two verses at the very beginning, there is a part that is dogmatic and a moral part.

Dogmatic part (i. 3-iii. 21).—This may be divided into four parts which state in different ways God's plan for the salvation of the world, though the connection of the ideas is not marked except by blessings or thanksgivings or prayers for God's action on mankind.

St Paul begins by explaining God's plan in the form of thanking Him for it: in that way he speaks of our predestination from eternity, of our adoption, of our redemption. Next he prays for the Ephesians of whose faith he has heard, his prayer is that they

may know what is the riches of the glory of the inheritance of Christ in the saints. He continues to speak of how the Jews had been children of wrath, but had been called to salvation (ii. 1-10), and then of how the Gentiles were also admitted (ii. 11-22).

He claims to be the apostle sent to the Gentiles that they might be fellow-heirs and copartners in Christ. He prays again for the Ephesians that they may be able to understand with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, to know also the charity of Christ which surpasseth all knowledge.

Moral part (iv. 1-vi. 20).—He exhorts them to be worthy of their vocation, he dwells on unity, mentions the diverse offices in the Church which are intended to produce unity and to prevent us from being carried about by every wind of doctrine. Next he exhorts them to avoid lasciviousness, lying, anger, etc. He compares the union of man and wife to the union between Christ and the Church, and exhorts husbands to love their wives and wives to fear their husbands. Children are to obey their parents, and slaves their masters. He asks them to pray for him that he may be able to preach the Gospel with confidence.

Epilogue (vi. 21-24).—Tychicus will tell them the things concerning Paul.

5. AUTHENTICITY OF THE EPISTLE

It is only in our own days that the authenticity of this epistle has been denied. In 1824 Usteri influenced by Schleiermacher put forward doubts. Schleiermacher said that neither the style nor the

doctrine was pauline. De Wette said that it was the work of some disciple of St Paul's who paraphrased the epistle to the Colossians. This hypothesis has been accepted by Ewald, Davidson, Ritschl, Weizsäcker, and Renan with or without modifications. Baur and the critics of his school: Schweigler, Köstlin, Hilgenfeld, and Hausrath found traces of the gnostic and montanist heresies in this epistle, and said that it belonged to the second century. Pfleiderer says that it is the work of a judeo-christian of pauline tendency who wishes to reconcile Jewish and Gentile Christians. Holtzman says that the epistle to the Colossians is in the main pauline, and that that primitive germ was first developed into the epistle to the Ephesians in order to state cosmological views, and that then from the epistle to the Ephesians was formed the epistle to the Colossians as we have it now. Klöpper and von Loden deny the authenticity from internal arguments.

We cannot undertake to discuss all these objections. We will confine ourselves to quoting the testimonies of ecclesiastical writers, and to internal arguments in favour of the authenticity.

St Ireneus is in this case, as in the case of the other epistles, the first writer to attribute it to St Paul, but it was known at the end of the first century. Similarities between Clement of Rome's epistle to the Corinthians (xxxvi. 2 = Eph. i. 18, and xxxviii. 1 = Eph. v. 21) are vague and may arise from the use of traditional expressions, but his reasoning (xli. 6 and 54) is very like Eph. i. 4 and iv. 6.

The precepts to masters and slaves in Didache (iv. 10) and in the epistle of Barnabas (xix. 7) seem to be inspired by Eph. vi. 9.

St Ignatius of Antioch may allude to this epistle

in his letter to the Ephesians (xii. 2) when he says: "You are fellow-initiated with Paul who in his whole letter is mindful of you." It would be more grammatical to translate: "*who in every letter is mindful of you,*" but that would be less easy to understand. Some expressions in the letters of St Ignatius may have been inspired by this epistle: ad Eph. the address = Eph. v. 1, ad Polyc. v. 1 = Eph. v. 29, ad Polyc. vi. 2 = Eph. vi. 11.

There are also similarities between Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians (i. 3 = Eph. ii. 8, *ib.* xii. 1 = Eph. iv. 26), between the Pastor of Hermas Mand. (iii. 1 = Eph. iv. 25, *ib.* x. 2 = Eph. iv. 5).

St Justin (Dial. xxxix. 7) quotes from Ps. lxviii. 19 exactly as this epistle (iv. 8) quotes. St Ireneus attributes to St Paul passages from this epistle introducing them with: "*Quemadmodum Apostolus Ephesiis ait.*" Clement of Alexandria (Strom. iv. 8; Pæd. i. 5) and Origen (Princ. iii. 4) bear similar testimony.

The Naassenians (*Philosoph.* v. 7), Basilides (*ib.* vii. 26), Valentinus (*ib.* vi. 34), Ptolemy (*Epiphanius Hær.* xxxiii. 6), and Theodotus (*Clem. Alex. excerpt. Theod.* xix. 48) have often quoted this epistle as Scripture.

Hort concludes from these testimonies that "it is almost certain that this epistle was in existence about the year 95 and quite certain that it was in existence fifteen years later." The use that is made of it in St Peter's first epistle proves the existence of this epistle as we shall see later on.

Form of the epistle. Vocabulary.—It contains 42 *hapaxlegomena*, that is 42 words that are not found anywhere else in the New Testament even in St Paul's epistles, 30 that are found in the New Testament but not in the pauline epistles, making alto-

gether 72 words that St Paul has not made use of elsewhere. Of these *hapaxlegomena* 11 words are found in no writer anterior to St Paul: ἀποκατάλλασσω, καταρτισμός, κοσμοκράτωρ, μεθοδία, μεστότοιχον, ὀφθαλμοδουλία, προσκαρτέρησις, προσωποληψία, συνζωποιέω, συναρμολογέω, συνκληρονόμος, σύνσωμος, three of these occur in Romans and Corinthians which goes to prove the pauline origin of this epistle to the Ephesians. And Wetste gives 10 words that have not in this epistle the same meaning as in the other epistles of St Paul. Let us examine all this in detail.

It is a very significant fact in favour of the authenticity that 22 words occur here that no one in the New Testament except St Paul ever makes use of: ἀγαθωσύνη, ἀληθεύειν, ἀνακεφαλαιούσθαι, ἐπιχορηγία, etc.; and the conjunction ἄρα οὖν which is very characteristic of St Paul, since we find it twelve times in him, and not once elsewhere in the New Testament, occurs here once. Other formulas characteristic of the pauline epistles are also found here, see Brunet, *aux Eph.* p. 21.

The *hapaxlegomena* prove nothing against the authenticity, because there are some in every pauline epistle, and relatively there are fewer here than in the first epistle to the Corinthians. Now let us examine the words that St Paul has not made use of anywhere else. We must set aside 9 words that we find only in quotations from the Old Testament, for they are in no sense characteristic of this epistle. Some words: ἄγνοια, ἀπατάω, δῶρον, φρόνησις, etc., belong to ordinary speech and it is only by chance that he makes no use of them. Other words: σωτήριον, εὐσπλαγχνος, used once, cannot be called characteristic of a writer; 6 words describe the armour of a

Christian and are of course special to that description. The many words compounded with *σύν* have been noticed, the subject-matter: unity of the Church, union with Christ, union of Jew and Gentile, required these words, so were *εχαρίτωσεν*, *ἐκληρώθημεν* required by the thought. Finally other words: *καταρτισμός*, *ἄνοιξις*, *ὁσιότης* cannot be said to be foreign to St Paul, for he uses elsewhere *κατάρτισις*, *ἄνοιγω*, *ὁσιότης*. As for Wetze's 10 words, we need only compare the following passages to see that he is mistaken:

εὐλογία	Eph. i. 3	has the same meaning as in Rom xv. 29.
αἰῶνα	Eph. ii. 2	„ „ Rom xii. 2; Gal i. 4.
φωτίσαι	Eph. iii. 9	„ „ φωτισμον 2 Cor. iv. 4.
μυστηριον	Eph. v. 32	„ „ 1 Cor. xv. 51; Rom. xi. 25.
ἀφθαρσία	Eph. vi. 24	„ „ 1 Cor. xv. 53.
οἰκονομία	Eph. iii. 2	„ „ 1 Cor. ix. 17.

The words *πληροῦν* Eph. iv. 10, *πληροῦσθαι* Eph. i. 23, *πλήρωμα* Eph i. 10 would require a special discussion, they are merely an extension of meaning peculiar to St Paul. As for *διαβολος* *devil* (Eph. iv. 27) we cannot say why St Paul has used it in place of *Satan* which occurs eight times in other epistles. The New Testament writers indifferently use the one or the other, it is probable that here and in the pastoral epistles St Paul does so too. We need not stop to discuss any more of these words, we may refer the reader to Oltramare and Brunet.

Style of the epistle.—Those who deny the authenticity, say that the style is heavy, embarrassed and diffuse, that the particles *οὖν*, *ἄρα*, *ἄρα οὖν*, *διά*, *διότι*, *γάρ*, which occurs so frequently in St Paul, scarcely ever occur in this epistle, and the writer makes too frequent use of the *oratio pendens*. The sentences are of un-

usual length, badly connected one with the other, broken with parentheses, and the grammatical construction is often irregular. Repetition of words is too frequent, and there are too many genitives, . . . Haupt gives ninety-three of them. Some prepositional connections: ἀγαθὸς πρὸς τι iv. 29, ἀγάπη μετὰ πίστεως vi. 23, δέησις περὶ vi. 18, and some unions of other words διδόναι τινά τι i. 22, ἵστε γιγνώσκοντες v. 5, ἵνα with the optative iii. 6 are foreign to St Paul.

Much the same may be said of other epistles. In explanations of dogma, St Paul is usually embarrassed, he usually drags, it is only when he attacks or defends that he shows life and energy. The absence of the particles has been exaggerated, οὐν occurs four times, διο five times, ἀρα οὐν once, γαρ eleven times, ὅτι thirteen times; and this is much the same proportion as in the epistle to the Galatians. Very long sentences with the *oratio pendens* are found in the unquestionably genuine epistles, when as here St Paul prays for his readers (Rom. i. 1-8; Gal. i. 1-6) or when he gives thanks (1 Cor. i. 4-9; Philip. i. 3-8) and especially when he gives dogmatic explanations (Rom. ii. 13-16; iv. 16-22; v. 12-21; Gal. ii. 1-11; Philip. i. 26-30).

But this epistle is not diffuse or wordy, it is rather condensed and full of ideas, so much so that in places there is difficulty in understanding it (i. 1-23). Comparing his epistle with the others, von Loden says that the two writers differed in character: one was phlegmatic and the other choleric. This is a great exaggeration. St Paul was ardent and impetuous when the occasion required it, he could be calm when he was writing a circular letter that contained no discussion, no attack, no defence. The special characteristic of the epistle to the Ephesians is its lyrical tone

in the first three chapters, it is a series of blessings, thanksgivings and prayers.

In conclusion, we may say that not only are the defects found in this epistle characteristics of St Paul's style, but also that all peculiarly his own ways of using words and all his peculiarities of style may be discovered in this epistle.

Doctrine of this epistle.—The critics who deny the authenticity of this epistle rely especially upon doctrine. They say that St Paul's characteristic doctrines are not here, and that those that are here are not to be found in any of his other epistles. We must therefore examine these two statements.

The specifically pauline doctrines are found in this epistle. We take up for this purpose the same ground as our adversaries take, we set aside the epistles to the Colossians, the pastoral epistles, and the epistle to the Hebrews. St Paul in this epistle does not speak exclusively of the abrogation of the Law or of justification by faith, the reason being that he has not to attack the judaisers for whom the observance of the Law was a necessary condition for salvation. He is speaking to Pagans and he tells them that they are saved "by means of faith" (ii. 6), that "it comes not from themselves but is a gift of God's" (ii. 8). This is exactly what he teaches (Rom. vi. 4; iii. 20; 1 Cor. i. 29; Philip. ii. 12).

The concept of the flesh *σάρξ* being the cause of concupiscence and sin, is quite pauline (Rom. viii. 3; Gal. v. 13) and is found here (Eph. ii. 3).

The doctrines that may be called the special doctrines of the epistle to the Ephesians are found at least in germ in the other epistles: for instance the plan of God for the salvation of men (Eph. i. 4-11 = Rom. vii. 28-30; 1 Cor. ii. 7; Gal. iv. 4); the reunion of

all things in Christ (Eph. i. 10) is given in its essence (Rom. viii. 34 ; 1 Cor. xii. 27 ; Philip. ii. 9), etc. etc.

Finally the doctrines of this epistle are not in contradiction with St Paul's doctrine as stated in the other epistles. It would be ridiculous to deny the authenticity of an epistle because it contained something that the other epistles do not contain. An original thinker and a fertile writer like St Paul must be allowed to push his teaching to its normal development, he cannot confine himself always to the very same ideas. Whatever there is new in this epistle in the way of doctrine follows logically from what we find in the earlier epistles, and is therefore to be held as genuinely pauline. We will not now discuss the accusations of gnosticism or montanism that have been brought against this epistle, we will reserve them until we reach the epistle to the Colossians.

✓ We have already shown that the position occupied by Christ in this epistle is not different from that which is assigned to Him in the other epistles. In much the same way it is objected that the Church is in this epistle represented as an organic whole, whereas in the other epistles St Paul knows of only local churches ; it is said that the idea of the unity and universality of the Church is foreign to St Paul. But that is not true, he uses the word Church in the collective sense (1 Cor. xv. 9 ; Gal. i. 13 ; Philip. iii. 6), or in the abstract sense (1 Cor. xii. 28). It is ✓ objected also that the relation between Christ and the Church is not the same in this as in the other epistles, here Christ is the Head (i. 23 and iv. 15), in the others He is the vital or animating principle (1 Cor. vi. 17 and xii. 12). Our answer is that these two metaphors are in no sense contradictory and that

in different ways they express the same idea: we are one body in Christ (Rom. xii. v. and 1 Cor. ii. 27). This idea must have been familiar to St Paul, since it is a fundamental part of Christ's teaching: He is the corner-stone of the building (Matt. xxi. 42), He is the vine and we the branches (John xv. 5).

It is said that St Paul does not speak here of the apostles and prophets as he does elsewhere. One need only read 1 Cor. xii. 28; xv. 9; iv. 9 to see that there is nothing in this objection. As for the epithet *holy* which is given to them (iii. 5) we find it also in 1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 4; and ix. 1.

The universalism of this epistle is said not to be the same as that of the other epistles: here the Gentiles are incorporated with the Jews, in the others there are no longer either Jews or Gentiles but a new humanity in Jesus Christ. But we read in Eph. ii. 14-16 of the two forming "one new man" and "one body," so that the same idea is here, only it is expressed in different terms.

Angelology is said to be more developed here than elsewhere. The fact is that there is a catalogue of the angels in Rom. viii. 38 and in 1 Cor. xv. 24 and Eph. i. 21, a comparison of the three shows that here as in the epistle to the Colossians he adds *Dominion*. Finally St Paul exalts Christ above all the heavenly powers (i. 20), but he does so also in Philip. ii. 10.

Comparison of the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians

There are many similarities of ideas and of expressions between these two epistles. The following list is given by de Wette:

Eph. i. 7	Col. i. 14	Eph. iv. 22	Col. iii. 8
„ i. 10	„ i. 20	„ iv. 25	„ iii. 8
„ i. 15-17	„ i. 3-4	„ iv. 29	„ iii. 8; iv. 6
„ i. 18	„ i. 27	„ iv. 31	„ iii. 8
„ i. 21	„ i. 16	„ iv. 32	„ iii. 12
„ i. 22	„ i. 18	„ v. 3	„ iii. 5
„ ii. 1-12	„ i. 21	„ v. 4	„ iii. 8
„ ii. 5	„ ii. 13	„ v. 5	„ iii. 5
„ ii. 15	„ ii. 14	„ v. 6	„ iii. 6
„ ii. 16	„ ii. 20	„ v. 15	„ iv. 5
„ iii. 1	„ i. 24	„ v. 19	„ iii. 16
„ iii. 2	„ i. 25	„ v. 21	„ iii. 18
„ iii. 3	„ i. 26	„ v. 25	„ iii. 19
„ iii. 7	„ i. 23-25	„ vi. 1	„ iii. 20
„ iii. 8	„ i. 27	„ vi. 4	„ iii. 21
„ iv. 1	„ i. 10	„ vi. 5	„ iii. 22
„ iv. 2	„ iii. 12	„ vi. 9	„ iv. 1
„ iv. 3	„ iii. 14	„ vi. 18	„ iv. 2
„ iv. 15	„ ii. 19	„ vi. 21	„ iv. 7
„ iv. 19	„ iii. 1-5		

Various explanations of this are offered. The two are supposed to be dependent one upon the other, but the question is which of the two is the first, some say the one, some say the other. Holtzman proves that in certain passages (Eph. i. 4-vi. 7, and iii. 3-5-9-17-18, etc.) priority is on the side of the epistle to the Ephesians, and he concludes that there was an epistle of St Paul to the Colossians which was used as a basis by the writer of the epistle to the Ephesians, and that then the same author made use of his work to complete the original letter to the Colossians. All this seems very complicated and very subjective.

In reality these resemblances may be explained by the circumstances in which the two epistles were written. Both were composed at the same period.

Perhaps at only a few days' interval. Both were intended to meet the same errors, and to give the same moral counsels in identical situations. What is more natural than that both the thoughts and the expressions should resemble each other in the two letters ?

Yet the one is not a servile copy of the other. The dialectics are not the same. The epistle to the Colossians being addressed to a particular church is more polemical, it attacks error more directly, the epistle to the Ephesians being probably a circular letter speaks more generally. The object of the epistle to the Colossians is to prove the super-eminent dignity of Christ over all created beings, the object of the epistle to the Ephesians is to show God's plan for uniting all creatures in Christ.

It deserves our notice also that the parallel passages do not occur in the same train of thought, there are whole sections of the epistle to the Ephesians (i. 3-14, i. 15-ii. 10) which have no parallel in the epistle to the Colossians except short passages which are not introduced in the same connection. When the ideas are parallel (Eph. iii. 1-2 = Col. i. 24-29) the wording is different. A forger would have to be very clever to make so many differences in so many resemblances. And why did he borrow only from Colossians and not from the other epistles ?

We admit that the moral part (Eph. iv. 17-vi. 20 and Col. iii. 1-iv. 7) is similar in both epistles as regards the thoughts, and that the expressions are often identical. It would have been surprising if the contrary had been the case, since St Paul wrote to persons whose origin and whose circumstances were identical.

Comparison of the Epistle to the Ephesians with other parts of New Testament

The following list shows the most striking of the similarities with the first epistle of St Peter :

Eph. i. 3	=	1 Peter i. 3.
„ ii. 18	=	„ ii. 4-5-6.
„ i. 20, etc.	=	„ iii. 22.
„ iii. 5-10	=	„ i. 10-11-12.

These are similar coincidences with the epistle to the Hebrews :

Eph. i. 20	=	Heb. i. 3.
„ viii. 1	=	„ x. 12.
„ i. 7	=	„ ix. 12.

and with the Apocalypse :

Eph. iii. 5	=	Apoc. x. 7.
„ v. 11	=	„ xviii. 4.

and with the Gospel of St John :

Eph. v. 8 = John xii. 35 and iii. 20-21.

All these coincidences may be fortuitous, or they may come from the fact that the writers drew upon a more or less stereotyped tradition. Besides why should not later writers have made use of the epistle to the Ephesians ?

This last conclusion seems to be forced upon us when we consider that in certain passages of considerable length words and thoughts are practically identical (Eph. i. 5-15 = Pet. i. 5-13). It seems probable to us that St Peter knew the epistles of St Paul, he insinuates it fairly clearly in his second epistle (iii. 15), if that is we admit that that epistle is directly St Peter's epistle. Moreover there are between the epistles of St Peter and St Paul so many similarities of thought, and expressions are so often identical, that there seems clearly to be some literary

dependence. We find in St Peter eight words: ἄσπιλος, εἰδωλολατρία, καταλαλία, κολαφίζω, κυριότης, προφητικός, συγκληρονόμος, χάρισμα, which occur for the first time in the pauline epistles and do not belong to the Greek literature of the first century A.D. We can understand this when we remember that Silvanus the friend and faithful companion of St Paul was the secretary who wrote St Peter's first epistle (v. 12), he may even have composed it under the inspiration of the Prince of the Apostles. Silvanus probably had in his mind, while he was writing, the favourite expressions of his old master.

6. EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS

Colossæ was a town in Phrygia, in the valley of the Lycus, on the road from Ephesus to the Euphrates, about 20 kilometres from Laodicea and 200 from Ephesus. Ancient authors speak of it as a large, populous and very famous city, but now there is only a trace of it left near a village called Khone. The church at Colossæ was not founded by St Paul. He seems never to have seen the Colossians, for he says that he has heard of their faith (i. 4), and he classes them with those who "have not seen my face in the flesh" (ii. 1), though the text might be interpreted another way; it might mean that the Laodiceans only had not seen his face and that the Colossians had seen him.

The majority of the faithful in this church were Gentiles (i. 27 and ii. 13), but there must have been some Jews, because they formed a large part of the population in the valley of the Lycus, and especially because the errors attacked here in ii. 14-16 are partly of Jewish origin.

It was Epaphras, a native of Colossæ and a beloved colleague of St Paul's, that evangelised them, or perhaps he only taught them St Paul's doctrine on grace and justification. He went to Rome for some reason that we know nothing of, perhaps it was in order to give information to St Paul concerning Colossæ and the neighbouring towns of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Ephesus, at all events he gave a good account of the faith and charity of the Colossians (i. 4), but he also mentioned the moral and dogmatic tendencies and even errors that were beginning to show themselves. What these errors were we cannot say precisely, but in general they seemed to have looked upon Almighty God as transcendent above this world, as holding communications with it by means of a series of mediators: majesties, dominions, principalities, powers, images of the invisible God (i. 15), agents of creation (i. 16), possessing all the perfection of God (i. 19), deserving to be worshipped (ii. 18); and Christ was to them the first of these creatures. They drew the practical conclusions that one ought to detach oneself from matter by ascetic practices, by abstinence from meat and wine (ii. 16), by mortification of the body (ii. 23), by circumcision (ii. 11), and by keeping feasts and new moons and sabbaths (ii. 16).

To what sect in antiquity did this Colossian heresy belong? According to Tertullian and Euthalius the Colossian heretics were philosophers, epicureans according to Clement of Alexandria, pythagoreans according to Grotius, Chaldean philosophers according to Hug, Christians, disciples of John the Baptist according to Kopp, disciples of Apollos according to Michaelis, Essenian Christians according to Klöpper and Mangold, judeo-Christians or Essenians according

to Thiersch, Credner, Ewald, Ritschl, Salmon and especially Lightfoot, cabbalists according to Osiander, Alexandrians according to Schenkel, gnostic cerinthians according to Mayerhoff and Neander, ebionite gnostics according to Baur, Lipsius, Sabatier, Davidson, Blom, Pfeiderer and Schmeidel, and according to Reuss the false teachers at Colossæ were some of them Essenians and some Alexandrians. Oltramare gives the following description of this heresy: "The doctors of Colossæ professed transcendental theosophic doctrines which they discovered by means of philosophy *φιλοσοφία* (ii. 8), they borrowed the principles of sanctification from the rudiments of this world (ii. 8), they pretended by their philosophical speculations and by their asceticism to lead Christians to God and to perfection. They boasted *φυσιοιουμενος* (ii. 18) of a superior theological science outside of Christ *οὐ κατὰ χριστόν* (ii. 8). Not attaching themselves firmly to Him who is the Head of the Church they lead souls astray by their pretended science *γνώσις* and make them wander away from the path of true sanctity by their ascetic principles. They bring trouble and division into the Church (iii. 14).

This account of opinions both ancient and modern shows how little is really known with regard to these errors. It seems to us that we have here a syncretic heresy made up of a mixture of oriental speculations and of Jewish and Christian doctrines.

In opposition to these St Paul teaches that the Son Jesus Christ is the image of the invisible God, and the agent and Head of Creation (i. 15), the Head of the Church by the sacrifice of the Cross, the only mediator between God and creatures (i. 19), He has made the antiquated practices useless, such as new moons, sabbaths and abstinences.

7. ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE

There is the prologue (i. 1-13), the dogmatic part (i. 14-ii. 23), the moral part (iii. 1-iv. 6), and the epilogue (iv. 7-18).

Prologue.—Paul the Apostle and Timothy to the saints at Colossæ. He thanks God for their faith and charity. He prays without ceasing that they may have full knowledge and wisdom. Let them be thankful for their part in the inheritance.

Dogmatic part.—The Son is the first-born, all things were made in, by and for Him. They were once enemies, now they are reconciled by the death of Christ. St Paul rejoices to suffer for the Gospel of which he is the minister to preach the mystery of reconciliation to the Gentiles. He wants them to know the battle that he is fighting for them and for the Laodiceans and for others to whom he is not personally known.

He wishes them not to be seduced by false philosophy which is founded upon the elements and not upon Christ, in whom the plenitude of the Divinity dwells bodily, who triumphed over the powers of evil by the Cross.

He declares that no one has the right to judge them for eating or drinking or legal feasts, he says that all these things are the shadow and that Christ is the reality. He condemns the worship of angels and the senseless visions of carnal men.

Moral part.—If they are risen with Christ, let them seek the things that are above, for they are dead, and their life is hidden with Christ in God. Let them avoid uncleanness, evil words, lies; let them put on goodness, humility, and above all charity

which is the bond of perfection. Then he speaks separately to husbands, wives, children, slaves and masters. He concludes with counselling generally prayer, and begs prayers for himself that he may be free to preach the Gospel. Let them be prudent with those who are outside, let them seize the occasion, let their words be seasoned with salt and appropriate to each person.

Epilogue.—He is sending Tychicus and Onesimus to them. He ordains that this epistle is to be read in Laodicea and the Laodicean in Colossæ. He sends salutations, a special message to Archippus, and signs his name with his own hand.

8. AUTHENTICITY OF THE EPISTLE

The pauline origin of this epistle was never questioned before the present century. Mayerhof says that that this epistle is an epitome of the one to the Ephesians, and that it was directed against the heresy of Cerinthus. Christian Baur says that it was written against ebionite judeo-christianity in the second century, and he finds traces of that heresy in circumcision, in the feast days, in abstinence from meat and wine, in the worship of angels; the christology is gnostic, and the terms *πλήρωμα* and *γνώσις* are gnostic.

We have seen that Holtzman admits that there is a pauline kernel in this epistle, he keeps 41 verses and rejects 53 including the beautiful passage (i. 15-20) on the supereminent dignity of Christ. He distinguishes two polemics in it: one against the judeo-christians, and one against the theosophic views of the gnostics. Jülicher considers all this too complicated. Von Loden limits the interpolations to

i. 15-20 and ii. 10-15-18*b*, but in his commentary he rejects only i. 16, 17*b*. Hilgenfeld, Pfleiderer and Weizsacker rejects the whole epistle and say that it belongs to the second century.

All these theories are based on internal evidence. They take no notice of tradition.

St Ireneus (*adv. Her.* iii. 14) attributes the epistle to the Colossians to St Paul, and he is the first writer to bear this testimony; but in earlier writers we find passages that remind one of this epistle. Cf. Clement of Rome (1 Cor. xxiv. 1 and Col. i. 18; *ib.* 49, 2 and Col. iii. 14), the epistle of Barnabas (xii. 7), Ignatius of Antioch (Eph. x. 2; Col. i. 23; Smyrn. vi. 1), Polycarp (Philip. xi. 2; Col. iii. 5), Justin (Dial. 84, 6; 25, 6; 125, 7; 138, 5; 100, 6).

This epistle is attributed to St Paul by Clement of Alexandria in *Strom.* i. 1, by Tertullian (*de præser.* 8), by Origen (*Contr. Cels.* v. 8). The heretics of the second century knew it as being pauline. Marcion had it in his Apostolicon. St Ireneus quotes passages from Valentinus containing quotations from the epistle to the Colossians. The author of the *Philosophumena* says that the Peratæ and Docetæ made a bad use of texts from this epistle (ii. 14-15 and ii. 9). Muratori's canon has it, and so have all the canons versions and MSS.

Language.—The language of this epistle both in the words and in the style is markedly different from the other epistles of St Paul except the epistle to the Ephesians which is similar to this one, but we do not think that these differences prove anything against the authenticity, because in spite of the difference of style we recognise the epistle to the Ephesians to be distinctly pauline.

Vocabulary.—The *hapaxlegomena* number 33, and

there are besides 48 words that are found in other parts of the New Testament, but not in other epistles of St Paul, so that the whole number of *hapaxlegomena* in relation to pauline writings comes to 81.

There are also 35 new formulæ: αἷμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, αποθνήσκειν ἀπὸ, αὔξησης τοῦ θεοῦ, δόξα τοῦ μυστηρίου, ἐλπίς τῆς δόξης, θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων, etc.; 15 compound words, which in proportion goes beyond the other epistles; 2 prefixes where St Paul puts 1: ἀποκαταλλάσσειν, ἀπεκδύεσθαι; an accumulation of synonyms: προσευχόμενοι καὶ αἰτούμενοι, σοφία καὶ συνέσις, ὀργὴ καὶ θύμος; the use of 2 genitives: "by the word of the truth of the Gospel," "the kingdom of the Son of His love"; frequent use of the adjective πᾶς; repetitions of a word γνωρίζειν, ενεργεῖα, νυν, νυνι, πληροῦν instead of πλεόν. The words that occur here for the first time are 7 in number: ἀπεκδύομαι, ἀπέκδυσις, ἐθελοθρησκεία, συλαλογέω, αποκαταλασσειν, κυριοτης, συνζωοποιεω, though the last 3 occur also in the epistle to the Ephesians.

Besides we do not find here St Paul's most familiar words: justice, justification, salvation, believe, law, boast, persuade, communion, etc., nor his usual conjunctions: εἰ μή, οὐδέ, οὔτε, εἴ τις, εἰ καί, εἴ πως, εἵπερ, οὐ μόνον δέ, διό, διότι, ἄρα, οὐκέτι.

All these objections may be made also against some of the admittedly genuine epistles. The proportion of *hapaxlegomena* is not much greater here than elsewhere, and is to be accounted for by the fact that he speaks here of doctrines of which he does not speak anywhere else, half of these words are in the second chapter which deals with quite a special subject-matter. The vocabulary was bound to change with the subject-matter, and that is why we do not find here the words that are so familiar in the epistles that deal with justification by faith and not by works. The

repetitions of words were required by the matter, and it is well known from the other epistles that St Paul never took pains to give variety to his expressions. The words that according to the objection above should occur here, are omitted in the longest epistles: *justice* occurs once in 1 Cor. and *just* not even once, *salvation* does not occur there or in Gal., *obedience* does not occur in 1 Cor. or Gal., Philip., 1 Thess., *law* occurs neither in 2 Cor. nor in 1 or 2 Thess. Conjunctions are rare here because there is no discussion in this epistle, it is devoted rather to explanation. On the use of σύν compare Rom. vi. 4 and vi. 6-8 and viii. 17; Gal. ii. 20 with Col. ii. 12-13-20 and iii. 1. The frequent use of πᾶς is evidently unavoidable in treating of the union of the faithful with Christ, and besides we find it in other epistles also: in 1 Cor. it occurs 47 times, 15 times in chapter x., 14 times in chapter xiii., and 18 times in chapter xv.

Half of the compound words occur in the other epistles also, and St Paul liked compound words, this is especially noticeable in his later epistles. Double prefixes are as numerous in 2 Cor. v. 2-4 as in the epistle to the Colossians. The synonyms to which objection is taken are not really synonyms, and a similar phenomenon may be seen in Philip. i. 7-9-10, etc.

We should also notice the many similarities between this epistle to the Colossians and the one to the Philippians: in words πληροῦν, σπλάγχνα, οἰκτιρμός, τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, ἄνωμος, etc., in style, as when a statement begins with a relative (Col. ii. 23; Phil. i. 28; Col. i. 9; Phil. i. 11; Col. iii. 15; Phil. iv. 7), or as when the thought is similar (Col. i. 24; Phil. iii. 10; Col. xi. 18; Phil. iii. 8; Col. i. 24; Phil. ii. 30), etc. And nearly all critics admit now that the epistle to the Philippians is genuinely pauline.

Five words that St Paul was the first to use are found here as well as in his other epistles: ἀνακαινώ, εἰδωλολατρία, πληροφορία, συναικμάλωτος, φυσίω; and seven words that are peculiar to the epistles of St Paul since they are not found elsewhere in the New Testament are found in this epistle: ἀπέιναι, ἐδραῖος, εἰκὴ, θριαμβεύειν, ἰσότης, πάθος, συνθάπτομαι.

Style of the epistle.—In the first two chapters the style is heavy and embarrassed, the sentences are long, the construction drags (i. 9-20 and ii. 8-12). A peculiar look is given to the sentences by the frequent use of the relative pronoun (i. 13-22 and ii. 10-13). It is beyond doubt that in the epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians the style is more full of life and passion, the sentences are long but do not drag. That is so, because there the apostle attacks live adversaries, whereas in this epistle to the Colossians he makes no direct attack, and besides he had never seen these adversaries; he writes calmly therefore, and here as always in his dogmatic explanations his sentences are long and badly constructed, the parts are connected by relatives and participles of which the use that he makes is not always regular.

These remarks are correct, but they prove nothing against the authenticity of the epistle, for we find these immensely long and clumsily constructed sentences in the dogmatic parts of other epistles: Rom i. 1-8, ii. 5-10, iii. 23-26, iv. 16-22; 2 Cor. i. 4-8; 1 Cor. i. 3-7; Gal. ii. 3-5; Eph. i. 3-7; Philip. iii. 8-11. The style changes as soon as he comes to practical questions, then his sentences are short and his construction is direct; the same change may be noticed in the other epistles. Lastly in this epistle (ii. 4-7-18-23 and iii. 14 and iv. 6-17) we have expressions and constructions that are genuinely pauline.

Doctrine of the epistle.—It is brought as an objection against the authenticity of this epistle that it contains doctrines that are foreign to St Paul, or are developments from his doctrine, and that they were unknown until the second century. The pre-existence (i. 17), the divinity (i. 15), the supereminence of Christ (i. 15), the hierarchy of the angels (i. 6), the reconciliation of all beings by the Blood of the Cross (i. 20) are treated as of greater importance than justification by faith.

All that is quite true, but we do not admit that it tells against the authenticity. These critics seem to think that St Paul should always have repeated exactly the same doctrines without ever touching upon any new subject. As a matter of fact his fundamental ideas do appear in this epistle whenever an opportunity occurs, and the germ of what is here developed is found in the earlier epistles. The pre-existence of Christ is found (2 Cor. viii. 9): "Being rich he became poor for your sakes," and (Philip. ii. 6): "Being in the form of God . . . emptied Himself." The supereminence of Christ is seen very clearly in Philip. ii. 6-11: "God gave Him a name above all names." And as for the dignity of Son of God attributed to Christ, we find it on every page of the pauline epistles: Rom. i. 3-6, v. 10; 1 Cor. i. 9; 2 Cor. i. 19, fifteen times altogether. Creation is attributed to Him (1 Cor. viii. 6).

He dwells on the supremacy of Christ in this epistle to the Colossians because he has to defend it against a rival doctrine concerning other mediators between God and men. The hierarchy of the angels is found in Rom. viii. 30 and 1 Cor. xv. 24, the terms are not always the same, nor are the numbers equal, but that proves only that he had not adopted definitely

any system of doctrine on the point. As for the reconciliation by the blood of the Cross, he does not speak of it anywhere else in so many words, but he insinuates it in 2 Cor. v. 19: "God was indeed in Christ reconciling the world to Himself." Many doctrines are found only once in the epistles of St Paul, yet no one thinks those epistles unauthentic for that reason.

In answer to the objection that the errors refuted in this epistle were not known until the second century, we say that it would be well if we could know exactly what the errors were that had found a footing at Colossæ, but that is exactly what we do not know. There is some analogy with the errors of the second century, but there is no identity with any one of them, with cerinthianism, or valentinianism, or ebionite gnosticism. There was a latent gnosticism, that may have manifested itself at Colossæ, as it manifested itself in the judaism of the first century (Friedlander, *Der vorchrist. jüd. Gnosticism*), and in the ascetic and abstinent judeo-christianity against which St Paul writes to the Romans (xiv. 2-6); we see the same thing also in Gal. ii. 8 and ii. 16. The words *γνῶσις* and *πλήρωμα* that are supposed to have been borrowed from gnosticism, are used here in the same meaning as in the other epistles, and not in their special or technical gnostic meaning. Lastly we do not find here the other technical gnostic terms that were in use in the second century: eons, syzygies, ogdoads, etc.

Therefore our conclusion is that the testimony of the whole of Christian tradition must prevail and that this epistle must be accepted as authentic.

9. EPISTLE TO PHILEMON

This is quite a personal letter. It was written to Philemon to obtain forgiveness for Onesimus who was a native of Colossæ and a slave as his name indicates. He had run away from Philemon his master after committing some fault, perhaps some theft. He went to Paul in Rome or Cesarea, having perhaps known him elsewhere. The Apostle converted him, and loved him as a son born to him in captivity, he would have liked to keep him, but it was right that Onesimus should go back to his master. Paul charged Tychicus with the duty of soliciting pardon for the runaway slave, and wrote this touching letter as well.

The letter is addressed principally to Philemon, but also to Apphia, to Archippus, and to the church that assembled in Philemon's house. The name of Philemon occurs frequently in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor. He may have been a native of Colossæ, at all events he lived there. He was wealthy, generous to the brethren, and he allowed them to hold their meetings in his house. He had been made a Christian by St Paul, we do not know when or where, but it may have been while the Apostle lived at Ephesus from which to Colossæ the distance is not great.

Apphia was probably Philemon's wife. Her name is Phrygian, and is often found in inscriptions. Archippus the fellow-soldier of St Paul is believed to be Philemon's son. He seems to have held some official position in the church, for in the epistle to the Colossians the Apostle reminds him to consider well the ministry *διακονίαν* that he had received from the

Lord (iv. 17). We do not know what that ministry was. Nor do we know whether the message from the Apostle implies blame or simply encouragement.

Analysis.—After mentioning those to whom the letter is addressed, St Paul praises the faith and charity of Philemon. Then he intercedes for Onesimus. We do not give the words of this intercession, they must be read in the epistle itself. He concludes by asking that a lodging may be prepared for him at Colossæ, and he sends salutations.

Authenticity.—This epistle is mentioned in the Canon of Muratori, and is found in the ancient Latin and Syriac versions. Tertullian tells us that Marcion kept it in his Apostolicon. Origen (*hom. in Jerem.* 19) formerly attributed it to St Paul and quotes passages from it. Eusebius (*hist.* iii. 3, 5) places it among the homologoumena. St Jerome in *Philem.* says that some refused to believe that it was written by St Paul, and they held that if it was his, it was not inspired, as it contained nothing towards edification, but was merely a letter of recommendation. St Jerome's answer is that all the epistles of St Paul contain allusions to current events, and that this epistle would not have been received by all the churches if it had not been genuine. St John Chrysostom bears the same testimony. Christian Baur, Weizsacker, Pfleiderer, Steck, and van Manen deny the authenticity of this epistle on various pretexts: differences of language, play upon the name Onesimus, analogy of the Clementine Recognitions, imitation of two letters of Pliny the Younger. Holtzman accepts it, all but the verses 4-6. Renan (*Antichrist*, p. 96) says: "Few pages are so evidently sincere as these. No one but Paul can have written this perfect little composition."

In truth, in spite of seven *hapaxlegomena*, we find here the Apostle's own language, several of his favourite expressions: ἐπίγνωσις, παρηγορία, παράκλησις, τάχα the last mentioned occurring in the epistle to the Romans only, his phraseology, his metaphors 10 = 1 Cor. iv. 15. The words and the sentences here are strikingly similar to those of the other epistles of the captivity, which proves that the epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon were written at the same period; they mention the same persons: Timothy, Phil. i. 1, Col. i. 1; Archippus, Col. iv. 17; Onesimus, Col. iv. 9; Aristarchus, Col. iv. 10; Mark, Col. iv. 10; Epaphras, Col. i. 7; Luke, Col. iv. 14; Demas, Col. iv. 14. Philemon alone is not mentioned, perhaps for the very reason that there was a separate letter for him.

Finally we may quote from Sabatier (*Paul*, p. 234): "Only a few familiar lines, but how graceful, how full of salt and of serious and confiding affection! This short epistle is like a pearl in the treasury of the New Testament. What a splendid realisation it is of Paul's own precept to the Colossians: Let your speech always be graceful, seasoned with salt, that you may know how to answer each one!" (iv. 6).

10. TO WHOM THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS WAS WRITTEN

The town of Philippi was situated at the North-West of Mount Pangæus which stood between it and the Egean Sea. It was built where in olden times stood the village of Datus first, and then the village called Crenides (springs) by Philip King of Macedon from whom it took its name. He had built it in a

situation of great natural strength, on a hill that formed as it were a wedge in the plain at the foot of Mount Pangæus. In later times the town spread out into the plain which was watered by many springs and by the River Gangites. The plain of Philippi was famed for its fertility. The Egnatian road ran through it. When Octavius and Antony had beaten the army of Brutus and Cassius, they founded the colony of Philippi and gave it the title of: *Colonia Augusta Julia Victrix Philippensium* and granted to it the *Jus italicum*. Hence the town had the political institutions of Rome: a senate, magistrates, and decemvirs elected by the citizens and entitled to lictors with fasces, and was exempt from the taxes to which conquered countries were liable.

The first colonists were the soldiers of the guard of Antony and Octavius. Eleven years later, partisans of Antony's transplanted from Italy were also settled at Philippi. Probably part of the population was Macedonian, as we may judge from the mixture of Greek and Roman divinities in local worship. Some Jews were there also, but only a small number, for they had no synagogue, they had to be contented with a *προσευχή* a place where they met to pray on the banks of a stream where they could perform the prescribed ablutions.

It was at this *προσευχή*, that St Paul when he had been called by a vision to Macedonia, first preached Christ to the Philippians. None but women seem to have been present at the meeting (Acts xvi. 13), and one of them, a proselyte named Lydia of Thyatira, who sold purple, listened to the word of Paul and was baptised with her whole household. She constrained the Apostle and his companions to go and dwell in her house. They continued to attend at the

place of prayer, and made a number of converts, for we read (xvi. 40) that St Paul as he was leaving the city went to the house of Lydia and encouraged the brethren.

This was the first church that St Paul founded in the West. It consisted principally of Gentiles, and women appear to have been more prominent here than in any other church. In this epistle (iv. 2) St Paul mentions two of them: Evodia and Syntyche who seem to have possessed much influence, since he exhorts them to be of one mind; this implies that discord between them was detrimental to the church. They had contributed with St Paul to the spreading of the Gospel. The preponderance of women at Philippi is not surprising, for the inscriptions show that socially they had much greater influence here than elsewhere.

The church prospered in spite of persecution (2 Cor. viii. 2). It sent money to St Paul twice at Thessalonica (iv. 16), once at Corinth (2 Cor. xi. 9), and once at Rome (Philip. iv. 18).

He loved this church (i. 3). He never accepted money from any other church. He visited it several times. In the autumn 57-58 he stopped there on his way to Ephesus and Corinth, on his way from Corinth to Jerusalem he celebrated Easter at Philippi (Acts xx. 6), and it is probable that after his first deliverance from captivity he realised his hope (ii. 24) of going to see the Philippians. It may be that he was with them when he wrote his first epistle to Timothy. He seems to have written to them other letters besides this one. Polycarp speaks of them in the plural *επιστολαι* (Philip. iii. 2). No doubt the Apostle acknowledged their gifts of money, he seems in iii. 1 to allude to his former letters.

II. OBJECT AND OCCASION OF THE EPISTLE

The Philippians had sent Epaphroditus to St Paul in prison with a present of money and gifts (ii. 25 and iv. 18). The messenger not only fulfilled this duty, but became a fellow-labourer of St Paul's. His strength however failed him, he fell ill, and was for a time in danger of death (ii. 27). When he recovered, St Paul sent him back to Philippi with this epistle. The principal object of the letter was to thank them for their gifts.

No other epistle of St Paul's is so personal as this one. Its tone is less oratorical and more familiar, its plan is not very clearly marked, it consists of a series of counsels and of outpourings in which the writer rises to the loftiest heights of religious thought. He is not afraid to speak openly of his fears as well as his hopes, he reveals with some bitterness his inmost thoughts of his fellow-labourers who seek their own interests and not those of Christ. Sabatier (Paul, p. 265) says: "In this epistle one sentiment or thought evokes another in the most natural and harmonious manner possible. The whole was written as it were without pause or interruption. Theological thoughts are not uppermost. The principal place belongs to the feelings of his soul and to the maturity of his religious life. The wealth of Christian experiences, the plenitude of faith, the force and delicacy of affection remind one of the best chapters in the second epistle to the Corinthians. The inner life overflowing is the same here as there, but long endured trials and long meditation have made it calmer, riper, deeper. The Apostle does go back sometimes to speak with the severity of former days,

yet his severity is now more gentle, there is more resignation in it (iii. 2 and iv. 18). He is prepared to live or die, as it shall please God, and so his soul is less passionate and more tender, less jealous and more detached. He moves us less. But he touches us more. He betrays a gentle melancholy. The crown of martyrdom seems to have cast its shadow upon him."

As the thoughts are not in this epistle disposed according to any regular plan, we will give them simply as they come.

12. ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE

Prologue (i. 1-11).—Paul and Timothy to the saints at Philippi with the bishops and deacons grace and peace. Paul thanks God for the part they have in the Gospel.

Historical part (i. 12-ii. 30).—His captivity has helped to spread the truth, he is known universally as a prisoner on account of Jesus Christ, the brethren speak with greater confidence, though some preach Christ with the intention of making the Apostle's imprisonment less bearable; but whatever the motive may be, he rejoices that Christ is preached, for he knows that he will be the gainer whether he lives or dies. He knows not what to wish, for to be dissolved and be with Christ is far the better, but to remain in the flesh is more necessary for their sake. Therefore he is confident that he will live and visit them again.

Let them live worthily of the Gospel. If there be any consolation in Christ, any comfort in charity, any communion of spirit, let them fill up his joy full by being of one mind. Let them feel in themselves

what they feel in Christ who being in the form of God emptied Himself and took the form of a servant, becoming obedient unto the death of the cross.

Let them be obedient in his absence as they were in his presence. God works in them to will and to perform. He wants them to be his glory in the day of Christ, so that he may not have run in vain or laboured in vain.

He will send to them Timothy and Epaphroditus (ii. 19-30). Soon he hopes to send Timothy. No one else with the Apostle is so interested in the welfare of the Philippians, the others seek their own interests and not Christ's. He will send Timothy as soon as his trial is decided, and hopes to go himself to see them. Meanwhile he sends Epaphroditus whom God has restored to health lest Paul should have sorrow upon sorrow.

Moral part (iii. 1-iv. 9).—He puts them on their guard as to false teachers whom he calls dogs, workers of evil, the bad circumcision. "We are, he says, the circumcision, because we serve God in spirit." Paul could boast of being a Hebrew of the Hebrews, etc., but what he once esteemed gain he now esteems to be loss. Not that he has yet attained or is perfect, but he pursues in order to overtake Him by whom he is overtaken Christ Jesus.

Personal exhortations (iv. 2-9).—He mentions two persons whom he wishes to be of one mind.

Eulogium (iv. 10-23).—He thanks them for their gifts. Not that he had been in want. He has learned to have enough with whatever he has. He knows how to be lowly, and he knows how to have plenty. He can do all things in Him that strengthens him. But they have done well in helping him. They alone of all the churches had in the beginning of his preach-

ing given him help in his wants. He mentions how they sent him gifts twice in Thessalonica. Not that he seeks their gifts, he seeks their reward. He sends salutations from all the saints, especially from those of the household of Cesar.

13. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING

Some critics: Paulus, Böttger, Billiet, Thiersch, Macpherson, hold that this epistle was written at Cesarea. The general opinion now, even among those who believe the epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon to have been written at Cesarea, is that this one was written at Rome. The mention of the pretorium and of the house of Cesar indicate Rome and not Cesarea. The distinction between the good and wicked preachers is not applicable except in a church of considerable importance. If it had been written from Cesarea, Timothy would not have been mentioned in it, but Luke or Aristarchus instead.

What really is in dispute is whether it was written at the beginning or at the end of the captivity in Rome, and whether it precedes the other epistles of the captivity or not. Opinions are greatly divided. And the arguments which we are about to mention are not decisive.

The events that are mentioned: St Paul being deserted by all except Timothy (ii. 20), the absence of Luke and Aristarchus, the fruit of his preaching in the pretorium (i. 12) and in the house of Cesar (iv. 22), suppose that his stay in Rome had lasted some time. Besides two voyages backward and forward are indicated in the epistle: a message from Rome to

Philippi to carry the news that St Paul was imprisoned there, voyage of Epaphroditus from Philippi to Rome, illness of Epaphroditus at Rome, message making this illness known at Philippi, and a message from Philippi expressing the anxiety of the friends of Epaphroditus; all this required time. And the general tone of the epistle shows the sadness and discouragement that would be the result of a long imprisonment. Yet he hopes to be set free soon, he could hardly have had this hope at the beginning.

On the other hand it is said that: nothing positive can be inferred from the presence or absence of the Apostle's companions, all that is said in i. 13-19 as to the preaching of the Gospel may have taken place in a short time because the church of Rome had long before this been founded and was no doubt already an important church, the four voyages may have taken no more than four months as the distance from Rome to Philippi is only 1200 kilometres, and the sadness of the tone of the epistle is denied, the tone is said to be joyful and hopeful.

Those who say that this epistle was written at the beginning of the captivity: Lightfoot, Hort, Farrar, point to numerous analogies between it and the epistle to the Romans. On the other hand there are more numerous analogies between the epistle to the Romans and those to the Ephesians and Colossians. If this epistle comes after the one to the Colossians, it ought to contain some allusion to the semi-gnostic judaism against which that epistle was written. But why should St Paul write against that form of judaism if it was not known at Philippi?

Finally, it is hard to say whether this epistle was written before or after the other epistles of the captivity, whether at the beginning or at the end of

the stay in Rome ; therefore we may place it about 62-64 A.D.

14. AUTHENTICITY OF THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS

The earliest ecclesiastical writers refer more or less directly to this epistle, but those references are not numerous because the epistle is neither long nor doctrinal. The passage that is oftenest quoted or alluded to is ii. 5-11 on the kenosis. Clement of Rome doubtless drew his inspiration from it when he wrote to the Corinthians (xvi. 1): "Christ belongs to those who are humble and who do not raise themselves up above His flock, etc.' *Cf.* also the same writer (1 Cor. 47 = Phil. iv. 15, *ib.* 21 = Phil. i. 27, *ib.* ii. = Ph. i. 10 and ii. 15).

Cf. also Ignatius of Antioch (Rom. ii. = Phil. ii. 17, Philad. 8 = Ph. ii. 3, Smyrn. 4 = Ph. iv. 18, *ib.* 11 = Phil. iii. 15.

Polycarp of Smyrna reminds the Philippians twice (3 and 11) of St Paul's having written to them, and passages in his letter prove that he had read the epistle to the Philippians: 1 = Ph. iv. 10, 2 = Ph. ii. 10, 9 = Ph. ii. 16, 10 = Ph. ii. 2-5, 12 = Ph. iii. 18.

Traces are also to be found in the Pastor of Hermas, in the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, in the epistle to Diognetus (5 = Ph. iii. 20), in Justin Martyr, in Melito, in Theophilus, and in the epistle of the churches of Vienna and Lyons which quotes word for word ii. 6 on the kenosis.

✓ Among heretics the Sethians (Hipp. Philosoph. 5, 10), the Valentinian Cassianus (Clem. Al. Strom. 3, 14), Theodotus (*ib.* Excerpt) and the apocryphal Acts of Thomas (26) quote from this epistle. It

was in Marcion's Apostolicon, and in the Latin and Syriac versions. Ireneus, Tertullian (*de res. carn.* 23), and Clement of Alexandria (*Pæd.* 1, 6, 52; *Strom.* 4, 13) quote passages from this epistle attributing them to St Paul. Lastly it is in the Canon of Muratori.

Internal arguments had led some critics to say that this epistle is not pauline. An Englishman named Evanson was the first, after him came Schrader, Baur, Zeller, Schwegler, Hitzig, Hinsch, Holsten, and Hockstra. All the Catholic critics are for the authenticity, and so are the most notable Protestant critics: de Wette, Reuss, Hilgenfeld, Pfleiderer, Harnack, Weizsäcker, Lipsius, Holtzman, Jülicher.

We need not discuss Baur's objections, because they have been set aside by later critics who also deny the authenticity, Holsten holds that they have been refuted, he says that they are weak and have been forgotten, and he brings objections of his own which are drawn from the language and the doctrine.

Language of the Epistle.—There are in it 41 words that are peculiar to this epistle, and of these 7 occur for the first time: *ἐνψυχεῖν*, *ἐπιχορηγορία*, *ὀκτήμερος*, *παραβουλέεσθαι*, *συμμορφίζεσθαι*, *συνμιμητής*, *σύνψυχος*; this is about the usual proportion, so that it does not tell against the authenticity. We find here 20 words *βραβεῖον*, *δοκιμή*, *ἔνδειξις*, *κενοῦν*, etc., that are strictly pauline, since they are never found anywhere in the New Testament except in St Paul. And 3 words *ἀποκαταδοκία*, *ἀπρόσκοπος*, *συνκοινωνός* used first by St Paul are in this epistle. His familiar words, phrases, and peculiarities of style may be noticed: i. 22-27-29 and iii. 8-14. The repetition of certain words is quite pauline: *πειθεῖν* 6 times, *φρονεῖν* 10 times, *κοινωνία* and its derivatives 6 times, *χαίρειν* and its derivatives 6 times.

Doctrine of the epistle. — The Christology is said not to be in agreement with that of the first epistle to the Corinthians. In the latter, Christ is conceived in His pre-existence as a heavenly man *ἄνθρωπος ἐπουράνιος* (xv. 47-49), whereas in this epistle to the Philippians (ii. 6-11) He pre-exists as a divine being “in the form of God” and becomes man at the Incarnation. There has been much discussion on this passage in the epistle to the Philippians, but it is quite in agreement with the pauline epistles; the sum-total is that Christ existed first as God and then became man, and that is exactly what he teaches (Gal. iv. 4): “God sent his Son made of a woman,” and (Rom. viii. 3): “God sent his own Son in the flesh,” etc., and (2 Cor. viii. 9): “Jesus Christ being rich became poor.” And in any case, there is no contradiction, because to the Corinthians St Paul spoke of Christ risen from the dead, whereas to the Philippians he spoke of Christ before the Incarnation. The word *ἐπουράνιος* in St Paul means one who is in heaven (Eph. iv. 8; Phil. ii. 9 and iii. 20-21).

The doctrine of justification by faith is the same as in the other epistles, though the way in which it is expressed is not the same: *δικαιοσύνη ἣ ἐκ θεοῦ, ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει* (iii. 9). Compare Gal. i. 14 = Ph. iii. 6.

The other objections find their solution in a careful study of the passages in question. Most of them are not very real. Holsten, the most determined adversary of the pauline origin of this epistle, admits in his latest work that the doctrine is quite pauline. Therefore we may say that at the present time no one calls the authenticity in question. We need not discuss the hypotheses of Völter who admits as pauline only the passages: i. 1-7, 12, 14, 18, 26; ii. 17-29; iv. 10-21, 23, or of Clemen who thinks that

we have here two letters, the one consisting of i. 1-7 (except the words: bishops and deacons), 12-16; ii. 17-20; iv. 10-21, 23; and the other of i. 8-11, 27-30; ii. 1-16, 19-24; iii. 2-4, 3, 8, 9. These hypotheses have been put forward in one form or another by other critics, Paulus, Hausrath, and are based generally upon the fact that this epistle contains a mixture of personal details, moral advice and dogma. We must admit that the epistle to the Romans is constructed upon a different plan. But we must not omit to notice that the epistle to the Philippians is not a theological treatise, it is only a familiar letter from a father to his children to thank them for a gift and to give them good advice. If St Paul speaks also of dogmas connected with the good advice, that is only what he usually does. Finally it is not correct to say that we have in iii. 1 "As for the rest, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord" the ending of a letter, for that expression τὸ λοιπόν often serves to introduce a fresh subject (1 Cor. vii. 29; Philip. iv. 8; 1 Thess. iv. 1; 2 Thess. iii. 1). Or if you insist that this is a conclusion of a first letter, we have no fault to find, provided you allow the remainder also to be genuine.

CHAPTER VII

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

THE two epistles to Timothy and the epistles to Titus are called pastoral epistles because they were written to pastors on their duties as shepherds of the flock. The first question that we have to settle with regard to them is the question of authorship.

1. AUTHORSHIP OF THESE EPISTLES

These epistles have been known since the beginning of the second century. They have left their mark on the earliest Christian writers: Clement of Rome, Barnabas and Polycarp. They were attributed to St Paul towards the end of the second century by Ireneus, Tertullian, and the Canon of Muratori; and are considered by the whole of Christian tradition to be pauline. No one before the nineteenth century questioned their authenticity. In 1804 Schmidt expressed doubts as to the first to Timothy. Schleiermacher accepts the epistle to Titus, but expresses doubts as to the second to Timothy, and holds that the first was fabricated from the other two. Eichhorn rejects all three attributing them to a disciple of St Paul. Schott attributes them to St Luke. De Wette declares that anyone who reads these epistles with his eyes open, can see that they are not authentic. Credner accepts the epistle to Titus, but rejects the first to Timothy and holds that the

second is formed from two authentic pauline letters. Baur and certain critics of his school : Schwegler and Hilgenfeld deny the authenticity of these two epistles and relegate them to the middle of the second century. Mangold assigns them to the end of that century.

Credner's view is in some form or other accepted by Hausrath, Ewald, Gran, Sabatier, Renan, Knoke, Hesse and Harnack, but others like Holtzman, Weizsäcker, Pfeiderer, von Soden, Beyschlag and Jülicher reject that view in all its forms, though they have their doubts as to fragments of pauline writings having been made use of.

Hesse supposes that there was a letter written by Paul to Timothy, and that at various times extracts from various authors were inserted into it ; he keeps as genuine everything that is personal to the writer and to the recipient of the letter, he keeps also all that has reference to false doctrines, but rejects everything connected with the organisation of the Church. This is how he divides the epistles : the suppressed parts are put in brackets : 1 Tim. i. 1-10 (11-17) 18-20 (ii. iii.) iv. (v. 1.-vi. 3) vi. 4-16 (vi. 17-19) 20-21 ; the II. to Timothy is composed of two letters incorporated together by means of a few sentences : first letter : i. 1-3*a*, 5, 10 (11-14) ; ii. 1-8, 14-26 ; iii. 1-16 ; iv. 1-5 (6-8)—second letter : i. 3*b*, 4, 15-18 ; ii. 2, 9-13 ; iv. 9-22.

Epistle to Titus : i. 1, 2 (3), 4-6 (7-11), 12, 13*a* (13*b*-15) 16 (ii.) iii. 1-6 (7-11) 12-15.

Knoke thinks that the writer had before him a genuine pauline letter of practical directions, a doctrinal letter to Timothy, and a regulation on ecclesiastical hierarchy of pauline origin. This is how he pictures the composition of these three letters :

First one: i. 1, 3, 4, 18-ii. 10; iii. 14-iv. 12; v. 1-3, 5, 6, 11-15, 19-24.

Second one: i. 12-17; iii. 14-iv. 11, 13-16; ii. 12-15; v. 7-9; vi. 17-19.

Third one: iii. 1-9, 10, 12, 13; ii. 11; v. 9, 10, 16, 4, 17; vi. 1, 2.

Jülicher in the first edition of his *Manual* supposes that the writer joined together clumsily two letters of Paul to Timothy to form the second to Timothy adding ordinances that were necessary in the Church of that day. The epistle to Titus was made up with the help of a fragment of an epistle to Titus. The first to Timothy was written *currente calamo* by someone who made use of the ideas contained in the other two. Harnack adopts Jülicher's view, fixes the date of the authentic portions at the year 59-64, supposes that the first editing of the Pastoral Epistles took place in 90-100, and believes that successive additions were made down to the middle of the second century. In his third edition Jülicher is in favour of unauthenticity pure and simple.

Quite recently Ewald (*Probabilia . . . Timotheus-briefes*, 1901) has taken up a new position. He endeavours to demonstrate that in certain passages in first Timothy there is an interruption in the train of thought, that the ideas are disconnected, and that there are no transitions. He proves that the theories of Knoke and Hesse do not solve these difficulties, and concludes that certain passages are misplaced. He says that i. 12-17 should be after i. 2, and iii. 14, iv. 10 after vi. 2. We do not reject this hypothesis *à priori*. There are cases in which passages have been misplaced. We admit also that this rearrangement does connect the ideas better. But it does not follow that in the original the passages were arranged in that way, for

in other epistles of St Paul we find solutions of continuity quite as marked as these. Besides there is you may say no plan in these epistles, they treat of a number of subjects which naturally tend to digressions. We need not therefore discuss this hypothesis any further, especially as it does not deny the authenticity of the epistle.

A general refutation of all the other hypothesis taken together can only be found in a demonstration that the three pastoral epistles were written from beginning to end by St Paul.

Unity of composition of the three epistles.—This unity is seen in the close connection of the three in matter and in form. By form we mean language. An attentive reader must be struck with this at once, there can be no doubt that there is only one author, he is not afraid of putting down the same thoughts, or of putting them down in the same terms, when the situation is the same, or when he has to make the same regulations, or to give the same exhortations. All this may be said to be subjective and a matter of appreciation. Let us therefore come to definite facts.

There are 897 words in these epistles and more than a quarter of them are common to two or to all three. Of these common words some are found nowhere else in the New Testament: αἰσχροκερδής, ἄμαχος, ἀνατρέπειν, ἀνόσιος, γενεαλογία, διαβεβαιουῖσθαι, διάγειν, διδακτικός, εὐσεβῶς, κενοφωνία, νηφάλιος, σεμνότης, παραθήρη, etc. or in the other epistles of St Paul: αἰτία, ἀπολείπειν, ἀργός, ἀρνεῖσθαι, δεσπότης, ἐπίθεσις, εὐσέβεια, ζήτησις, κῆρυξ, μεταλαμβάνειν, etc. Certain derivatives occur very frequently in all the three epistles: διδακτικός, διδάσκαλος, διδασκαλία; σῶφρων, σωφρόνως, σωφροσύνη, σωφρονισμός; ὑγής, ὑγιαίνουσα, ὑγιαίνων, ὑγιαίνειν; οἶκος, οἰκία, οἰκείος, οἰκονομία,

etc. Lastly expressions or whole sentences are common to all the three epistles: *ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας*, (1 Tim. ii. 4; 2 Tim ii. 25; Titus i. 1); *καιροῖς ἰδίοις* (1 Tim. ii. 6; Titus i. 3); *τὴν παραθήκην φίλαξον* (1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 14); *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος* (1 Tim. i. 15; 2 Tim. ii. 11; Titus iii. 8); *παγίς τοῦ διαβόλου* (1 Tim. iii. 7; 2 Tim. ii. 26); *πιστένομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* (1 Tim. i. 11; Titus i. 3); *εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἡτοιμασμένος* (2 Tim. ii. 21; Titus iii. 1); *ἔργα καλὰ* which is found nowhere else in St Paul, but is found four times in 1 Tim., and four times in Titus; *τύπος τῶν πιστῶν* (1 Tim iv. 12); *τύπος καλῶν ἔργων* (Titus ii. 7); *διαμαρτύρομαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ* (1 Tim. v. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 14, iv. 1); *ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ κυρίου* (1 Tim. vi. 14; 2 iv. 1, 8); *ἐπαγγελία ζωῆς* (2 Tim i. 1; 1 Tim. iv. 8); and these latinisms which are found nowhere else in St Paul: *δι' ἣν αἰτίαν* *quam ob causam* (2 Tim. 1; vi. 12; Titus i. 13); *χάριν ἔχειν* (1 Tim. i. 12; 2 Tim. i. 3); these connections: *ὧν ἐστίν* (1 Tim. i. 20; 2 ii. 17); *ὡσάντως* (1 Tim. ii. 9; Titus ii. 3-6).

One might even say that these three epistles copy one another (2 Tim. ii. 23 = 1 Tim. i. 4, iv. 7, vi. 4, Titus iii. 9; 1 Tim. iv. 1 = 2 Tim. iii. 1; 1 Tim. ii. 7 = 2 Tim. i. 11; 1 Tim. v. 7 = 2 Tim. ii. 16-23, Titus i. 14, iii. 9; 1 Tim. ii. 7 = 2 Tim. i. 11; 1 Tim. iii. 2-4 = Titus i. 6-9; 1 Tim. vi. 11 = 2 Tim. ii. 22; 1 Tim. iv. 12 = 2 Tim. ii. 15, etc.).

When we come to examine the matter we find that these three epistles are closely allied. They frequently speak of sound doctrine *ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία* (2 Tim. iv. 3; Titus ii. 1), of sound words *ὑγιαίνοντες λόγοι*, of our Lord (1 Tim. vi. 3; 2 Tim. i. 13; Titus ii. 8) an idea which in that exact form is found nowhere else in St Paul. We must live according to piety (2 Tim. iii. 12; Titus iii. 2). Later on we shall see that faith and good works are treated of in these

epistles in a way that is both consonant with and yet different from the way in which they are treated of in the other epistles. The qualities required in an *ἐπίσκοπος* are much the same in 1 Tim. iii. 2-7 and Titus i. 7-9.

The errors condemned in the three pastorals are very similar in all three: *babbling* (1 Tim. i. 6, vi. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 16; Titus i. 10), *interminable genealogies* (1 Tim. i. 4; Titus ii. 9), *which lead to quarrels* (1 Tim. i. 4; 2 Tim. ii. 23; Titus iii. 9).

From all these similarities we must conclude that the three epistles are the work of one author. Consequently we must reject the hypothesis that they are composed of fragments, or of authentic short letters of St Paul's, as well as the less rash hypothesis that the first epistle to Timothy was made up from the second and from the epistle to Titus.

Besides, both of these suppositions attribute to the writers of that time a habit that was entirely unknown in those ages. Forgeries are very numerous in the centuries near the birth of Christianity: in the first century A.C. and in the first and second centuries A.D. But not one of those forgeries is made up of extracts from the authors whose name they took, not even the false epistles of St Paul. The writers never troubled to make their forgeries plausible by imitation of style. Yet these hypotheses suppose that in this case that was done. If so, this would be a solitary example in those ages. Lastly, was it easy to imitate so personal a style as St Paul's?

Taking these hypothesis as they stand, the forger might very well be absolved from the guilt of forgery, because the pauline passages that he inserts can have no other purpose than to give authenticity to the remainder of the work, in themselves they add no-

thing to our knowledge of the mind of the Apostle, they say what he has already said in other places.

A real discussion of these hypotheses is impossible as long as the critics are unable to make a clear distinction of false and authentic parts, and especially as long as they are unable to agree among themselves on that question. This agreement is declared by Jülicher to be impossible, and Harnack is content with vague expressions. We have already mentioned how Hesse dissects these epistles. Sabatier admits as apparently genuine the following fragments: 2 Tim. i. 1-18; 2 Tim. 6-22; Titus iii. 1-7, 12-15. That is not much, and we shall see that more must be admitted. Krenkel's hypothesis is the latest, he admits only three fragments from pauline epistles making together thirty-three verses: (1) Titus iii. 12, 13, 2 Tim. iv. 20; (2) 2 Tim. iv. 9-18; (3) 2 Tim. iv. 19, i. 16-18, iv. 2.

Our only answer to all these difficulties must be to prove the unity of each epistle and the fairly logical connection of the development of each—this will appear from our analysis—and to prove that St Paul is the author of them taking them as a whole. This second part is the one that we will attempt first.

For this purpose we must study the language and the doctrine of these epistles, the hierarchy or ecclesiastical constitution that they presuppose to be in existence, and finally the use that has been made of them in the Church. Later on we shall see to what period of the life of St Paul they belong.

Language.—There is quite a marked difference between these and the other epistles both in words and in style, but reasons for this difference can be given, and there is also an undeniable similarity to

the other pauline epistles. And first of all, we must notice that there is no unalterable type or standard of pauline epistles. They vary considerably in language and form four distinct groups, each having its own peculiarities, yet all being fundamentally similar: (1) Epistle to Thessalonians; (2) Epistles to Corinthians, Galatians and Romans; (3) Epistles to Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians and Philemon; (4) pastoral epistles.

Vocabulary.—St Paul uses 2478 different words, of which 816 are not used elsewhere in the New Testament. The pastoral epistles contain 897 words, and of these 171 are not found elsewhere in the New Testament, and 18 occur here for the first time, that is they are not found in any author who wrote in the century anterior to Christ, viz.: ἀνεξίκακος, ἀνακάνωσις, ἀντίλυτρον, ἐδραῖωμα, ἐκζήτησις, ἐπιδιορθοῶν, ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, εὐαγγελιστής, εὐμετάδοτος, καλοδιδάσκαλος, καταστρηνιάζειν, λογομαχεῖν, πρόκριμα, συγκακοπαθεῖν, ὑπερπλεοναζειν, ὑψηλοφρονεῖν, φρεναπάτης. There are also 114 words that are found elsewhere in the New Testament but not elsewhere in the pauline epistles. This makes a total of 285 words that occur in these epistles but not in any other epistles of St Paul; in other words, one third of the words in these epistles is found nowhere else in the writings of St Paul.

The proportion is evidently very great. If we take the *hapaxlegomena* counting only the words that are not found anywhere in the New Testament except in St Paul, we find that there are 74 in 1 Tim, 46 in 2 Tim. 28 in Titus, and 23 that occur in more than one of the pastoral epistles. Comparing these with the other epistles, and allowing for the relative length of each, we find in Titus and 1 Tim. 13 special words, in 2 Tim. 11 words, Philip. 6, 8; Col. 6, 3; 2 Cor.

6; Eph. 4, 9; 1 Cor. 4, 6; Rom. 4, 3; 2 Thess. 4, 2; Gal. 4, 1; Philemon 4; 2 Thess. 3, 6. Consequently the pastoral epistles contain nearly twice as many special words as the epistle that contains the greatest number, and four times as many as the one that contains the smallest number. Therefore these epistles stand quite apart from the other epistles.

When we examine these *hapaxlegomena* in detail, we can easily understand their being here. More than two thirds of them are composite words or derivatives of which the simple form or a different composition is found elsewhere in St Paul. Thus ἀντίλυτρον (1 Tim. ii. 6) corresponds to ἀπολύτρωσις (Eph. i. 7); ῥητῶς (1 Tim. iv.) correspondsto ἄρρητος (2 Cor. xii. 4, etc.). We must notice the compounds of ὑπέρ (1 Tim. i. 14, ii. 2; 2 Tim. iii. 2); this composition is quite common in St Paul, it occurs 43 times in his epistles: Rom. vii. 13; 1 Cor. vii. 36; 2 Cor. ii. 7; Eph. i. 19, etc., whereas elsewhere in the New Testament it occurs only 9 times.

St Paul is fond of compounds in all his epistles. His 6 compounds of φίλος may be compared with φιλόνεικος (1 Cor. xi. 16), φιλοξενία (Rom. xii. 13), his 5 of οἶκος with οἰκοδομεῖν (Gal. ii. 18), πάροις (Eph. ii. 19). The neologisms ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, ἱεροπρεπής are quite as much in his manner as ἄρσενοκοίτης (1 Cor. vi. 9), or πλεονέκτης (1 Cor. vi. 10).

Of the 285 *hapaxlegomena* 180 are in the Septuagint and could therefore not be unknown to St Paul. The expressions picked out by Holtzman (Einl. N. T., p. 318) correspond to the religious or moral state presupposed by these epistles, such as: βέβηλος, εὐσέβεια, καθαρός, καλός, σεμνότης, or are technical terms referring to heresies: γενεαλογία, ψευδώνυμος, γνῶσις, γυμνασία, or to established ecclesiastical states: ἐπισκοπή, διδακτικός,

νεόφυτος, or describe true doctrine : εκζητησις, λογομαχία, παραθήκη, ὑγιή.

The expressions are new because the situation was new. St Paul had never yet had to specify the qualities required in ἐπίσκοποι, πρεσβύτεροι, deacons or widows, nor had he ever had to regulate the organisation of the churches. Besides the new words and the difference of style may be accounted for by the supposition that St Paul had not now the same secretary as when he wrote his earlier epistle.

The change in the situation accounts also for our not finding here words that occur frequently in the other epistles : ἀκροβυστία, ἄδικος, ἀκαθαρσία, μωρία, δικαίωμα, κατεργάζεσθαι, etc. All these words belonged to the polemics with the Jews, or else they have their equivalents in the pastoral epistles.

One objection is that the prepositions ἀντί, ἄχρι, ἔμπροσθεν, παρά with the accusative, σύν, and the conjunctions ἄρα, διό, διότι, ἔπειτα, ἔτι, ἴδε, ἰδοῦ, ὥσπερ which are so usually employed by St Paul are not found here ; in place of διότι we find δι' ἣν αἰτίαν which is a latinism. This and other latinisms such as χάριν ἔχειν *gratiam habere*, πρόκριμα *praejudicium* are accounted for by the fact that late in life St Paul was more in contact with the Latins. The absence of conjunctions proves nothing, they occur with no uniformity, and some of them are wanting in epistles that are quite authentic. Besides they could not be employed so frequently in the pastoral epistles, because the Apostle was not engaged in discussion, he was merely making regulations. And certain prepositions that he is accustomed to make use of in formulas occur here, like κατά which is found here 18 times.

The new epithets given to God in these epistles : σωτήρ, μακάριος, δυνάστης, are taken from the Septuagint.

The Coming of Christ is not called *παρουσία* but *ἐπιφάνεια*, this means no more than that St Paul did not always use the very same word; we have already noticed this in the other epistles: *ἡ ἡμέρα του Κυρίου* (1 Th. v. 2; 1 Cor. i. 8, v. 5, etc.), sometimes he calls it *ἀποκάλυψις* (2 Th. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 7), or *παρουσία* (1 Th. ii. 19), and *ἐπιφάνεια τῆς παρουσίας* (1 Th. ii. 8, etc.). The formula *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος* and the words: "Great is the mystery of piety" before the confession of faith (1 Tim. iii. 16) were formulas in use at the time.

The similarities between these pastoral epistles and the other epistles are as striking as the differences. There are 612 words in common in all of them. There are also 38 special words that are not found elsewhere in the New Testament, and of these, 3: *μόρφωσις*, *ναυαγεῖν*, *συνζῆν*, occur first in St Paul, for no writer before him makes use of them. There are also formulas in common: *εὐαγγέλιον . . . ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγώ* (1 Tim. i. 11; Titus i. 3 = Gal. ii. 7; 1 Thess. ii. 4); *δυνατὸς ὁ θεός* 2 (Tim. i. 12 = Rom. xi. 23); *κατ' ἐπιταγὴν* (1 Tim. i. 1 = Rom. xvi. 26); *παρέδωκα τῷ Σατανᾷ* (1 Tim. i. 20 = 1 Cor. v. 5).

Ideas are often in common also, and are expressed in almost identical words, yet there is enough difference to denote originality in the writer. For a forger would have copied more literally. Compare 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12 = 1 Cor. 34; 1 Tim. ii. 13 = 1 Cor. xi. 8, 9; 2 Tim. 1, 3, 4 = Rom. i. 8, 11; 2 Tim. ii. 5 = 1 Cor. ix. 24; 2 Tim. ii. 11 = 1 Cor. ix. 7; 2 Tim. ii. 11 = Rom. vi. 8; 2 Tim. ii. 20 = Rom. ix. 21; 2 Tim. iii. 2-4 = Rom. i. 29-31; Titus i. 1-4 = Rom. i. 1-6, etc.

In 1 Tim. alone 42 passages may be found that have their parallels in other epistles of St Paul; the marginal references give a much greater number, but many are only vague resemblances.

Differences of style.—The pastoral epistles have not the vigour or force or vivacity or impetuosity or life and variety or the asperity of the epistle to the Romans or Galatians. The style is heavy, slow, monotonous, diffuse, disconnected, in places it is dull and colourless; it is less broken up, more simple and smooth, and easier to understand than that of the other epistles.

The object and character of the epistles account for this difference: they were not contentious, they were composed of moral, ecclesiastical and personal advice from a father to a son. In similar circumstances he wrote in the same style, as one may see (Rom. xv. xvi. or Eph. v. vi.).

While we recognise that there is this difference, we may still see the stamp of St Paul upon these epistles. We see here sentences within sentences rather clumsily joined together, frequent anacoluthons and parentheses (2 Tim. iii. 2-5), enumerations, repetitions, plays upon words (1 Tim. i. 9-10, vi. 5, 6; 2 Tim. ii. 9, iii. 4, 17). Compare the first verses of 1 Tim. with Rom. i. 28-32 or 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10 or Gal. ii. 6. The first sentence is never finished, unless you suppose it to be finished in verse 18 and that what goes before is all one long parenthesis, the propositions are connected only by the last word of one being the beginning of the next, and every thought that comes up draws the writer away from his principal idea. All that is thoroughly pauline.

The writer of the pastoral epistles is fond like St Paul of rectifying his words in order to make the meaning quite clear: "I labour unto bonds as an evil-doer . . . but the word of God is not bound" (2 Tim. ii. 9), which is analogous to 1 Cor. ix. 21: "I have been without law to those who were without

the law . . . though I am not without the law of God" (*cf. ib.* xv. 10). Many evidently pauline passages might be quoted, one will suffice: "Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of Our Lord or of me his prisoner, but labour with the Gospel according to the power of God who hath delivered us and called us by his holy calling not according to our works but according to his own purpose and grace which was given to us in Christ Jesus before the times of the world, but is now made manifest by the illumination of our Saviour Jesus Christ who hath destroyed death and hath brought to light life and incorruption in the Gospel" (2 Tim. i. 8-10). Every attentive reader of the pauline epistles will recognise in this the pauline style, with its special structure, and its stringing together of incidental sentences, no account being taken of the principal sentence.

In short, there are differences of vocabulary and of style that cannot be denied, but as a whole the pastoral epistles do not differ from the others.

Doctrines of the pastoral epistles.—We find here the principal doctrines of St Paul, and those that are special to these epistles are not opposed to those of St Paul; nor are the false doctrines referred to here posterior to his time.

And first, the doctrines of these pastoral epistles are found in the other epistles. All men are sinners, and the list of sins is given (1 Tim. i. 9, 10; Titus iii. 3; (Rom. i. 29-32), both Jews and Gentiles are sinners (Titus iii. 3; 1 Tim. i. 7); this universality of sin is the basis of St Paul's doctrine of justification and is demonstrated with great vigour in the first chapters of the epistle to the Romans. Then on account of a plan (2 Tim. i. 3; Rom. viii. 28-30) God wishes all

men to be saved, this plan was first concealed (Eph. iii. 9) and then revealed (2 Tim. i. 10 ; Titus ii. 11, iii. 4) by Christ who is God (1 Tim. iii. 16), appeared in the flesh (*ib.* Philip. ii. 7), He is Man (1 Tim. ii. 5 ; Rom. v. 15), the only Mediator (1 Tim. ii. 5 ; Gal. iii. 19, 20). Justification comes not from works (2 Tim. i. 9), but from faith (1 Tim. i. 14, 16, 19 ; Rom. iv. 5 ; Eph. ii. 8, etc.).

Yet St Paul exhorts his readers here as in the other epistles to perform good works as a manifestation of a good life (1 Tim. vi. 18 ; Titus iii. 14 ; Gal. v. 22 ; Eph. v. 9 ; 2 Cor. ix. 8 ; Rom. ii. 7). These references are sufficient to prove that we find in the pastoral epistles the doctrines that are characteristic of St Paul.

Holtzman attempts to show that there is some opposition between the doctrine of the pastorals and that of the other epistles: he says that *πίστις* *faith* and *δικαιοσύνη* *justice* are not used here in the pauline sense, that *faith* is here an intellectual act whereas in St Paul it is an act of the will (Rom. i. 16). He is quite right as to the meaning of *πιστεύω* and *πίστις* in places in St Paul, but the intellectual meaning is very often to be found in the other epistles also, as in Rom. vi. 17 where he speaks of the model of faith, or xii. 7 where he speaks of the analogy of faith. Holtzman maintains that *justice* in these epistles is a virtue or moral state and not a relation of man to God, as St Paul teaches in the other epistles. But in 2 Cor. ix. 10 he uses justice in that very sense of a virtue, for he speaks of its fruit increasing.

Lastly the Gospel is represented here as a doctrine from God, preached by His messengers, it is *the sound doctrine, the form of sound words* (2 Tim. i. 13).

The Gospel is therefore a body of doctrines, opposed to false doctrines. It would take too long to quote all the texts in which this view is put forward. But let us admit that the terms and expressions in which this view is given are for the most part new in the New Testament, that St Paul does not always represent the Gospel in this light in the other epistles. That does not weaken the argument in favour of these epistles being truly pauline. Because St Paul does elsewhere call his Gospel *a type of doctrine* τύπος διδαχῆς (Rom. vi. 17), and he lays it down that the doctrine must be preserved as he had taught it (1 Cor. xv. 1 ; Gal. i. 8 ; 2 Cor. xi. 4), he exhorts the Romans to watch those who make any change in the doctrine (Rom. xvi. 17). Therefore the pastoral epistles contain only a fuller development of this idea, and this development was made necessary by the springing up of the false doctrines of which we will say more further on. But it is development in the same sense, and not change.

A further objection is that the false doctrines that are here condemned did not come into existence in the lifetime of St Paul. But opinions vary considerably as to the nature of the heresy that is denounced here. Nearly all those who oppose the pauline origin of these epistles say that the heresy is gnosticism ; some venture to mention the particular sect : Marcionites and Valentinians (Baur), Ophites (Lipsius and Schenkel), Marcosians (Hilgenfeld), Cerinthians (Mayerhoff) ; others see here gnosticism in its very beginning before it split up into sects (Holtzman). According to Michælis and Mangold these heretics are christianised Essenians, for Reuss and Neander they are judaising gnostics, for Wiesel they are judaising pythagoreans, for Otto and Dähne they are

philonian Jews, for Grotius, Herder and Baumgarten they are cabbalist Jews.

It would take too long to discuss all these opinions in detail. But we will endeavour to show that the false doctrines denounced here were contained in germ in contemporary speculation, and were alluded to in other pauline epistles. We will show that analogous doctrines were in vogue among the Jews of that time, that they had not the characteristics of the gnosticism that prevailed in the second century; and that will be our answer to this objection.

A general statement is not difficult to give of the errors stigmatised in the pastoral epistles, for though each epistle adds some special trait, still the main points are the same in all three. And we must not leave out the men who were to teach in the last days (1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Tim. iii. 1), we must bring in their errors too, because St Paul supposes them to be already in existence, since he says to Timothy (2, iii. 1) "Avoid those men."

These men have made shipwreck of the faith (1 Tim. i. 19), are proud and ignorant, sick about questions and strifes of words (1 Tim. vi. 3), have false science *γνώσις ψευδώνυμος* (*ib.* vi. 20), tell old wives' tales (1 Tim. iv. 7) and Jewish fables (Titus i. 14), deal in interminable genealogies (1 Tim. i. 4), in disputes on the Law (Titus iii. 3), they say that the resurrection has taken place (2 Tim. ii. 18), they condemn marriage and prescribe abstinence from good things (*ib.* iv. 3), they belong especially to the circumcision (Titus i. 10), they creep into houses and lead captive silly women laden with sins (2 Tim. iii. 6).

In the first century the time was all in favour of the spreading of these heresies. Commercial and other relations with the East were frequent, religious

ideas were communicated from one part of the world to the other, parsist dualism became known to the Jews, and they were predisposed to accept it by the teaching of the Old Testament as to angels and by the distinction of clean and unclean food, it contributed to form the doctrines of the Essenians and of Philo, it spread among neighbouring nations as we saw in studying the epistle to the Colossians. It would not be difficult to show that Greek philosophy was predisposed to the influence of parsism, or that about the time when Christianity began to be preached there was a mixture of the two which produced Neoplatonism.

This syncretism of Oriental, Jewish and Christian ideas had begun in St Paul's time. He opposed it directly in his epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, and alluded to it in the epistles to the Corinthians and Romans (Rom. xiv. 2, 21; Col. ii. 16, 23; 1 Cor. viii. 7, 8; *ib.* vii. 3-5; *ib.* xv. 12; Col. ii. 18). The errors resulting from it were more fully developed at the time of the pastoral epistles, and that is why we see them here more distinctly.

Where shall we find a definite origin of these errors? To what does St Paul allude when he mentions interminable genealogies and old wives' tales? Does he allude, as some critics say, to second-century gnosticism with its interminable generations of eons, tetrads, ogdoads and syzygies that make up the *pleroma*? The text does not support that hypothesis. Gnosticism grew out of the contact of Greek philosophy and Christianity. Therefore we must look to Jewish speculations, for that is the source that is clearly indicated in Titus i. 14 where St Paul exhorts him to give "no heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men."

These quarrels and disputes about the law, these controversies, ἀντιθέσεις or oppositions of ideas remind one of the discussions in the rabbinical schools: a question was asked concerning some point of the law, and then began an endless discussion in which the opinions for and against were quoted from ancient authors. Nothing is more tiresome than to read in the *Mischna* those enumerations without end of opinions bearing more or less upon the question.

The myths and genealogies spoken of in the pastoral epistles are probably the numerous legends that were formed around Genesis and the genealogies of the Patriarchs. We have these legends in detail in the *Book of Jubilees* and in the *Assumption of Moses* where an account is given of the struggle of Michael the Archangel with Satan for the body of Moses, and in the book of *Biblical Antiquities* of the pseudo-Philo.

From the last-mentioned book we give one specimen which will, we think, be sufficient: "Adam begat three sons and one daughter: Cain, Noabas, Abel and Seth. And Adam lived 700 years after begetting Seth and begat twelve sons Ælissel, Suris, Ælamiel, Brabal, Naab, Harama, Zasad, Maathal and Anath and eight daughters: Phna, Tectas, Arctica, Siphatacia, Sabaasin" and so on. One can understand St Paul's calling this interminable genealogies and old wives' tales.

The prohibition of certain articles of food is Jewish, and so is the esoteric character of those doctrines and the wish for separation from the rest of men. St Paul opposed this when he ordered prayers to be said for all men, and declared that God wished all men to be saved (1 Tim. ii. 4). As for the prohibition of marriage which is opposed to Jewish notions, it is

oriental and not Essenian. It is a mistake to exaggerate the influence of the Essenes on the heretics of the pastoral epistles. These heretics love money (1 Tim. vi. 10), their mind and conscience are defiled (Titus i. 15), and they lead captive silly women; whereas the Essenes practised community of goods, were chaste, and avoided intercourse with women. Therefore the heretics of these epistles were Jewish Christians who to their national customs added some foreign practices.

Consequently it is useless to seek in the second century gnostic speculations for points of resemblance with these heresies. In fact it is impossible that they should be the origin of these heresies, because most of the gnostics especially the Marcionites and Valentinians were adversaries of the Old Testament and of the Law, so that they cannot have pretended to be doctors of the Law (1 Tim. i. 7), Marcion never discussed the Law, he rejected it altogether. *Geneologies* is a term unknown among the gnostics, their terms are eons, etc., as given above, and those are the terms that the author would have used if he had referred to gnostic errors. It would be astonishing if the author, living in the second century when gnosticism was fully developed, could find no better words to describe it than the vague and indefinite ones that we see in these epistles. Nor would he have called the disputes *vain and idle* (Titus iii. 9) for they were a serious menace to Christianity.

We shall recognise in these epistles some of the terms and some of the features of the gnostic systems of the second century. That is explained by the fact that these heresies, of which we have seen the germ in the epistles to the Romans and Colossians, were more developed at the time of the pastoral epistles,

more developed still at the time of the epistles of Ignatius of Antioch, and reached their full development in gnosticism under the influence of Greek philosophy; so that gnosticism is the end and not the beginning of these heresies.

The reader may be astonished to see that we attribute to Jews errors that may be described as pre-gnostic. But there are Jewish writings of the first century that teach the errors that were fundamental in gnosticism: abrogation of the ceremonial law, God inferior, creator of the visible world (Friedlander vorchrist. jüd. Gnosticismus).

Concept of the Church.—The church of the living God, the column and support of truth (1 Tim. iii. 15; 1 Cor. xv. 9) is founded on and by God θεμέλιος θεοῦ (2 Tim. ii. 19), is the house of God (1 Tim. iii. 15), He is the Lord of it (2 Tim. ii. 21), and the ministers are the stewards (Titus i. 7). Therefore the Church is not only a particular community, it is the union of all such communities, an ideal society; from the Church in the concrete we have passed to the Church in the abstract, to the universal Church. In the epistles of St Paul the word Ἐκκλησία stands for a particular community (Rom. xvi. 1; 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Cor. i. 1), altogether eleven times. That is indeed the first meaning that he gave to the word, but his generalising mind soon rose to the abstract meaning of a universal society in which Christ is the head and we the members (Eph. i. 22, v. 30; Col. i. 18-24), she is the spouse of Christ without spot or wrinkle (Eph. v. 25-27). As in the pastoral epistles she is called the Church of God (1 Cor. x. 32, xi. 22) nine times does that name occur; she is the field, the building of God (1 Cor. iii. 9, 10).

Ecclesiastical Organisation.—These epistles mention

four classes of persons as being in some way or other employed in the church : (1) ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος, (2) εὐαγγελιστής, (3) διάκονος, (4) widows χῆραι.

The words *episcopos* and *presbyteros* seem in the pastoral epistles to designate the same person and the same function. The same qualities are required for *episcopoi* and *presbyteroi* (1 Tim. iii. 1-6 and Titus i. 5-7). The same persons have the two names applied to them ; “ Ordain *presbyteroi* in every city . . . for an *episcopos* must be without crime ” (Titus i. 5-7). The *presbyteroi* in 1 Tim. v. 17 were *episcopoi* because they presided προεστῶτες. The ministers of the Church are the *episcopoi* and *diaconoi*, or *presbyteroi* and *diaconoi* ; the *episcopoi* and *presbyteroi* are never mentioned together as distinct. They were appointed to office by the imposition of hands (1 Tim. iv. 14 ; 2 Tim. i. 6) and established by the delegate of the Apostle (Titus i. 5), they had to be capable of teaching διδακτικός (1 Tim. iii. 2).

We must notice however that *episcopos* is always in the singular and *presbyteroi* in the plural. This distinction may mean that among the *presbyteroi* there was one who was called *episcopos* and had a special office.

This state of things with regard to *episcopoi-presbyteroi* is exactly what we find elsewhere in the middle of the first century. St Paul makes no distinction, he speaks of *episcopoi* and *diaconoi* (Philip. i. 1), and he tells the *presbyteroi* of Ephesus that the Holy Ghost has made them *episcopoi* (Acts xx. 17-28). St Peter (i. v. 1-5) bids the *presbyteroi* feed the flock *episcopountes*. In the earliest post-apostolic writings these terms are not differentiated : the Didache (xv. 1) puts at the head of the community the *episcopoi* and *diaconoi*, it knows nothing of *presbyteroi* ; Clement

of Rome calls the same persons *episcopoi* (xiii. 4) and *presbyteroi* (xlvii. 6). At the beginning of the second century on the contrary, St Ignatius of Antioch establishes very clearly the distinction of bishops, priests and deacons: the bishop presides in the place of God, the priest takes the place of the apostolic senate, and the deacon is entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ.

2 Tim. iv. 5, St Paul recommends his disciple to do the work of an evangelist. This is an allusion to the missionaries mentioned (Eph. iv. 11): "God gave some apostles, others prophets, others evangelists." Philip the deacon is called an evangelist (Acts xxi. 8). Whether this title indicated a particular function, or was as in the pastoral epistles a particular designation of a more general function, is not easy to say. In any case we do not see in the writings of the apostolic Fathers any more than in later writings that any functionary of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was called an evangelist. In the few texts that speak of evangelists we must understand the word to mean a preacher of the Gospel. In the fourth century the *ἀναγνώστης* is sometimes called *εὐαγγελιστής*.

The qualities required in deacons are mentioned (1 Tim. iii. 8-18). Deacons are mentioned (Philip. i. 1), they are represented (1 Cor. xii. 28) as those who help *ἀντιλήψεις*. The Didache (xi. 1) mentions them. In 1 Tim. iii. 11 there may be a mention of deaconesses, though we cannot be certain that the wives of the deacons are not meant. In any case we know from Rom. xvi. 1 that there were deaconesses in the primitive Church.

Assisted widows are mentioned (1 Tim. v. 4), we need say nothing of them; widows on the list are mentioned in verse 9, they had duties to perform.

This is the earliest indication of the *ordo viduarum* which is spoken of in the Clementine Recognitions (vi. 15), or of the *τάγμα τῶν χηρῶν* of Ps.—Ignatius, or of the widows alluded to by St Ignatius in his epistle (Smyrn. xiii. 1). In the pastoral epistles the widows are required to be really widows, but not much later we find that women set apart for the service of the Church are called widows, St Ignatius *loc. cit.* speaks of virgins who are called widows. We can easily understand the necessity of these widows in the early Church in the East for the evangelising of and caring for women. That office could not be entrusted to men. The widows were then a kind of deaconess. Very likely they were sometimes called by one name and sometimes by the other, for many things were in those early times unsettled: *διάκονος* (Rom. xvi. 1); *χήρα* (1 Tim. v. 9). And when we see that in the second century there was a *τάγμα τῶν χηρῶν* officially established, we see no reason why a church like that of Ephesus which had long been constituted and hierarchised should not have had a *κατάλογος* or list of widows. For we must not forget that the Greeks, as well as the Romans, were fond of organisation; and in those small close corporations there was a disposition to have the full equipment of offices.

Let us conclude therefore that neither as regards the hierarchy, nor as regards St Paul's idea of the Church, is there any difference between the pastoral epistles and the other epistles of the Apostle or the other writings of his time.

Historical circumstances.—The pastoral epistles contain the names of some persons who are known: Tychicus (Acts xx. 4; Eph. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7); Trophimus (Acts xx. 4); and perhaps Alexander (Acts xix. 33). And they recall some facts mentioned in

the Acts: the imprisonment of the Apostle (Acts xxviii. 30), what is said of Timothy's origin (Acts xvi. 1), the persecutions at Antioch, Iconium and Lystra (Acts xiii.). But the whole body of the events recorded, and the situation that these epistles presuppose are outside of the period covered by the Acts and by the pauline epistles. We shall demonstrate this later on. This is a strong argument in favour of the pauline origin of these epistles. A forger would have selected personages known to everybody, in order to add to the apparent authenticity of his work, whereas here the writer has placed himself in a historical situation of which no one else says anything.

Yet although the events narrated here are not known to us from any other source, not one of them tells against the pauline origin of the epistles, though the opposite has been held. Renan's historical difficulties push these epistles out of the period known to us by the Acts and by the other epistles. We admit them, for we believe that these epistles do not belong to that period, consequently we need not notice those difficulties. Naturally we do not admit that the author of the second to Timothy has placed himself in the position presupposed by the captivity narrated in the Acts, that is the first Roman captivity to which belong the epistles to the Philippians and Colossians. An attentive study of the text shows that an earlier captivity is alluded to: the verses 14-17 in the fourth chapter speak in the past tense of a captivity, but verses 9-13 refer to the present: "Luke alone is with me"; and a comparison of verses 6-8 where Paul says that he is about to be immolated, with verse 17 where he says that he has been saved from the mouth of the lion, proves that he speaks of a twofold captivity.

But it is objected : St Paul calls Timothy a young man when he must have been thirty-five or forty years of age. We answer : Why not ? Timothy was young for his duties, and besides he was young for St Paul who had known him as a child and was now an old man. Everything here is relative (1 Tim. iv. 12).

St Paul could give the advice not to choose neophytes for bishops at Ephesus (1 Tim. iii. 6), because that church was then at least ten years old. He does not give that advice to the church of Crete which had not been founded so long.

Is there any contradiction between 1 Cor. vii. where he advises virgins not to marry, and 1 Tim. ii. 15 where he says that women will be saved by child-bearing ? The apparent antinomy arises from the difference of the point of view of the writer ; he counselled virginity because the end of the world was at hand (vii. 26) whereas here he treats of the duties of women : he will not allow them to teach in public, or to rule their husbands, and so he lays it down that they are to keep to their position of mothers which is represented by the one word *child-bearing*.

We need not discuss the other objections, they are of no importance and are easy to meet.

Use made of the epistles in the Church.—St Clement writing to the Corinthians has thoughts that may have been suggested by these epistles. Cf. xxix. 1 = 1 Tim. ii. 8 ; *ib.* ii. 7 = Titus iii. 1. Compare also the epistle of Barnabas (v. 6 = 2 Tim. i. 10 ; iv. 6 = 2 Tim. iii. 6 ; v. 10 = 1 Tim. iii. 16 ; xiv. 6 = Titus ii. 14). Polycarp of Smyrna writing to the Philippians (iv.) speaks of the qualities of deacons in the same terms as 1 Tim. vi. 7. The similarities in Ignatius of Antioch are not so great (*cf.* ad. Magn. xi. = 1 Tim. i. 1 ; *ib.* viii. 1 = 1 Tim. iv. 7). Theophilus of Antioch bids

Autolyceus (iii. 14) to be subject to the powers and to pray for them, because the divine word commands us to do so (Titus iii. 1 ; 1 Tim. ii. 2). Notice the expression *divine word*. This shows that A.D. 181 the pastoral epistles were quoted as the word of God.

St Justin (Dial. 47) speaks of the love of God for men (Titus iii. 4.) St Ireneus (*adv. her.* ii. 14) and Tertullian (*Scorp.* 13) attribute these epistles to St Paul by name. The Canon of Muratori mentions one epistle to Titus and two to Timothy which though written out of affection for persons in place of being written to churches are nevertheless in honour in the Catholic Church because they have been canonised for the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline. The Peschitto and the ancient Latin version contained these three epistles. Tatian accepted the epistle to Titus but rejected both of those to Timothy, Marcion did not admit them in his canon, and Basilides rejected them. This is not astonishing, because their heresy stained with gnosticism was condemned by these epistles. The fact of their exclusion is a proof of their existence. Marcion rejected them, not because they were not pauline, but because like the Gospel of St John and other writings they did not fit in with his system. Origen in *Matt.* 117 says that some have dared to reject the epistle to Timothy, but have not been able.

Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* iii. 3, 5) says that there are fourteen epistles undisputed, which means accepted by everybody, he mentions 2 Tim. twice (ii. 22, iii. 2.) The few writings that we have of the beginning of the second century show that these epistles were known to some writers of that period. And at the end of the second century we find them quoted by name and held as canonical.

Our general conclusion is that these epistles are the work of St Paul. We have now to see at what period of his life he wrote them. Various hypotheses have been put forward on this question, we will explain them and discuss them later on. At present let us establish the facts. Let us see to whom, on what occasion, for what purpose they were written, and what their contents are. By the light of these facts we shall be able to determine the date.

The first to Timothy and the one to Titus must have been written about the same time, they are so closely connected in their contents and in style. The second to Timothy was written a little later. In order not to separate the two to Timothy, we will take the epistle to Titus first.

2. OCCASION, ETC., OF THE EPISTLE TO TITUS

Titus was born of pagan parents, he was Greek (Gal. ii. 3), was made a Christian by St Paul who calls him his true son in the faith (Titus i. 4). Before long he is St Paul's brother (2 Cor. ii. 13), his companion and helper (*ib.* viii. 23). He accompanied St Paul from Antioch to Jerusalem when the question as to the keeping the Law of Moses had to be decided (Gal. ii. 1), and was not obliged to submit to circumcision (*ib.* 3). We find Titus again at Ephesus during the Apostle's third missionary journey, he is sent from there to Corinth, he rejoins the Apostle in Macedonia (2 Cor. vi. 6), is sent from there to Corinth bearing the second epistle to the Corinthians (*ib.* xii. 18) and is charged with the duty of collecting money in Corinth for the poor of Jerusalem. After that we lose sight of him, until

we find him again in Crete where St Paul had left him (Titus i. 5); as soon as either Artemas or Tychicus sent by the Apostle reaches Crete, Titus is to go to him in Nicopolis which is a seaside town on the west of the gulf of Ambracia; we gather that he actually went, for soon after we see that he is in Dalmatia (2 Tim. iv. 10).

It appears from the epistle to Titus that St Paul preached for a short time in Crete, long enough however to know the character and disposition of the people (i. 13); when he left the island, the church was not organised, and Titus was commissioned to set things in order.

Probably Christianity had for some considerable time been known in Crete, for there were Cretans present at the preaching of Peter on the Day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 11), and besides the island is in communication with Rome, Palestine, Greece and Asia Minor, so that Christian missionaries could have access to it easily. But Christianity had not prevailed against their naturally evil dispositions.

Polybius, Ovid, Livy and other writers confirm what St Paul quotes from the Cretan poet Epimenides: "always liars, evil beasts" (i. 12). They were with the Cappadocians and Cilicians the three bad *κάππα* of the Greek world. According to Suidas *κρητιζέειν* meant: to be a liar. There were many Jews in Crete, and the Cretans in addition to their own national vices adopted some of the defects of the Jews: disobedience, vain talking (i. 10). The evil as described in this first chapter was great, and we gather that the labours of the Apostle had borne no great fruit, because in place of his usual affectionate messages he ends this letter with the very limited salutation to "them that love us in the faith."

3. ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE TO TITUS

There is the Prologue (i. 1-4), and the Conclusion (iii. 12-15), and the part between these two may be divided into three since it deals with three subjects.

Rules for choosing presbyters.—It is not necessary to analyse these, all that is necessary is to read them. Then the Apostle goes on to show how Titus is to behave towards the teachers of false doctrine, viz. : “rebuke them sharply,” “give no heed to Jewish fables,” etc.

Exhortations.—Titus is told how to address old men, old women, young women, and young men. He is himself to be a model of good works. Slaves are to be obedient.

More general precepts.—Titus is to preach submission to the ruling powers, gentleness and mildness towards all men; he is to avoid foolish questions, genealogies and contentions.

4. CIRCUMSTANCES OF FIRST TO TIMOTHY

St Paul in his second missionary journey found at Lystra a disciple named Timothy, he took him with him (Acts xvi. 3) across Asia Minor and Macedonia, when he travelled from Thessalonica to Athens he left Timothy at Berea (xvii. 14). Timothy rejoined Paul at Athens whence he returned to Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii. 2), went later on to Paul at Corinth (Acts xviii. 5). He was at Ephesus with the Apostle and was sent from there to Macedonia with Erastus (xix. 28) and to Corinth (1 Cor. iv. 17). We cannot say whether he had gone back to Ephesus or whether

he found the Apostle in Macedonia, but he was with Paul when the second to the Corinthians was written (2 Cor. i.). He went to Corinth with Paul, for he is mentioned in the epistle to the Romans (xvi. 21). And he went with Paul to Troas (Acts xx. 4). But after that we lose sight of him. We see him neither in Jerusalem nor in Cesarea, nor is he mentioned among those who sailed with Paul to Italy. Yet he was in Rome when Paul wrote to the Philippians (i. 1, ii. 19; Col. i. 1, and Philemon i.). Probably he had been imprisoned, and was at this time set free (Heb. xiii. 23). We know nothing of Timothy except from these pastoral epistles which we are now about to examine.

In obedience to St Paul he left for Macedonia, and stopped at Ephesus (i. 3) to put an end to some false teaching. St Paul had foretold (Acts xx. 29) that false teachers would arise, and his prophecy had come true. The evil had increased when the first to Timothy was written. Some of these false teachers had even resisted the Apostle, and he had handed them over to Satan. Timothy was to take the place of the Apostle and establish order in the church.

Some critics, Belser amongst others, think that Timothy was bishop of Ephesus because: he had to teach (i. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 2), he directed public worship (1, ii. 1), he had power to judge (1, v. 19), to watch over ecclesiastical discipline (1, v. 1), over widows (1, v. 1-16), the right to appoint bishops and deacons (1, iii. 1-10), in fact he had supremacy over bishops since St Paul tells him what qualities to require in them.

These texts prove that Timothy had authority in Ephesus, but they do not prove that he was resident bishop there, he may have possessed all this authority

as delegate of the Apostle. There are texts that favour the latter supposition: he was left at Ephesus for a definite purpose (i. 3), he was to teach until the Apostle came (iv. 13), he was to do the work of an evangelist (ii. 4, 5), and finally St Paul recalls him (ii. 4, 9). The position of Titus in Crete is the same, he was left there to organise, but is not left there permanently since he is sent for to go to Nicopolis. Both Timothy and Titus therefore took the place of the Apostle, the one in Ephesus the other in Crete, temporarily. Whether later on they became resident bishops of those places, is a question with which we are not here concerned.

St Paul's object in writing to Timothy was to warn him against the false doctrine that prevailed at Ephesus, to give him directions for the government of the church, and to advise him how to act with regard to various kinds of persons. It is easier to indicate the general lines of the epistle than to give its logical order. It must be remembered that regulations and counsels cannot be planned out like a thesis.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST TO TIMOTHY

The prologue consists of the first two verses, then comes the body of the letter, and in the last verse there is a blessing or good wish by way of termination.

St Paul mentions the purpose of preaching (i. 3-20).—The purpose is charity. Those who go astray from this fall into vain babbling. St Paul thanks God for putting him in the ministry. He exhorts Timothy to fight the good fight. He denounces Hymeneus and Alexander.

Directions as to public prayers (ii. 1-15).—He de-

sires prayers for all especially for kings, etc., God wishes all men to be saved, there is only one God and one Mediator. Men are to pray in every place, women are to learn in silence.

Directions as to ministers (iii. 1-16).—He that loves the office of ἐπίσκοπος loves a good work. Next St Paul gives the qualities of bishops and deacons, he hopes to come soon, but if he tarries long these directions are to be a guide to Timothy.

He foretells future errors (iv. 1-16).—The Spirit announces that in the last days some shall depart from the faith, and forbid marriage, etc. Timothy is to oppose those errors. No one is to despise his youth, he is to be an example.

Rules of conduct (v. 1-vi. 2).—Here St Paul speaks of how old men are to be treated, and young men, and widows, etc. He advises Timothy no longer to drink water but wine, on account of his frequent infirmities.

Then he denounces again those who teach false doctrine, he calls again upon Timothy to fight the good fight, and ends with the wish: "Grace be with thee. Amen."

6. OBJECT OF THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY

When St Paul wrote this epistle, he was a prisoner (i. 8). He was in Rome, for that is where Onesiphorus searched for him diligently and found him (i. 17). The persons who salute Timothy at the end: Pudens, Linus, Claudia bear Roman names. And tradition favours this opinion. Luke alone was with Paul, but he was in contact with the brethren in Rome (iv. 21). He knew that his task was finished,

he was about to die, he calls upon Timothy to come quickly before the winter, to bring him his cloak and his books and parchments.

He gives Timothy his last instructions, and reminds him that the spirit of God is not a spirit of timidity but of strength. Perhaps the disciple was less disposed naturally to energetic actions than the master.

Timothy was probably at Ephesus at this time. The mention of Trophimus (iv. 20) an Ephesian, of Alexander another Ephesian, of Priscilla and Aquila (iv. 19) who probably were at Ephesus would make us think so. Hence St Paul insists again on the necessity of avoiding false doctrine. And many times over he exhorts Timothy to be courageous and faithful. He writes as if he was not sure of seeing his disciple again.

7. ANALYSIS OF THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY

Prologue.—Paul the apostle to his beloved son wishes grace, mercy and peace.

Body of the letter.—Let Timothy rekindle the gift of God that is in him by the imposition of hands, let him not be ashamed of the Gospel or of Paul the prisoner.

Everybody in Asia has abandoned Paul, Onesiphorus on the contrary has sought him out and helped him.

Timothy is to resist false teachers and to protest against disputes on words. He is to avoid youthful desires and pursue Christian virtues.

The Apostle foretells future evils, and exhorts Timothy to remain firm and faithful.

He begs him to come soon, to bring Mark with him and the cloak and the books.

He gives him news of friends, sends salutations, and ends with: "Grace be with ye. Amen."

8. DATE OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

The historical information that we find in the pastoral epistles will enable us to determine with sufficient probability at what period in his life they were written. The question is whether the facts furnished by these epistles find room in the life of the Apostle as it is known to us by the Acts and by the other epistles; and whether—the pastoral epistles not having been written before the end of his imprisonment in Rome in 60-62—we must admit that he was restored to freedom and continued the work of his ministry. Each epistle requires to be studied by itself, and yet the connection of the three is so great that no hypothesis can be accepted for any one of them that would put a great space of time between any two of them.

First epistle to Timothy.—Paul had evangelised Ephesus and had gone to Macedonia. The organisation of the church was complete enough, but false teachers preached a doctrine different from the Apostle's. That was why Timothy was left in Ephesus to wait for Paul's return, and he might have to tarry before he could return (i. 3, iii. 14). Where do these facts find a place in the life of St Paul as it is known to us?

It was in his third missionary journey that he evangelised Ephesus (Acts xix. 10). After more than two years he left Ephesus for Macedonia. But before

that he had sent Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia (Acts xix. 22). As however Paul remained some time in Asia (*ib.*), Timothy may have come back to Ephesus, for (1 Cor. xvi. 11) Paul expects him and his brothers. Was it at this time that this epistle was written?

Let us suppose that Timothy had returned and that Paul had left him at Ephesus. Then this epistle was written when Paul was on his way to Macedonia and Corinth (2 Cor. ii. 13; Acts xx. 1), or else at Corinth during the three months that he stayed there (*ib.* xx. 3). But Timothy was with Paul (*ib.* xx. 4) and is mentioned as helping to write the 2 Cor. (i. 1).

Besides, at this time Paul was not thinking of returning to Ephesus (1 Tim. iii. 14, iv. 13), he was on his way to Jerusalem and Rome (Acts xix. 21). For this reason this epistle cannot have been written by St Paul after he had left Miletus, where he saw the elders of Ephesus, and perhaps Timothy was among them. After this he no longer accompanies St Paul.

There is another hypothesis that seems less improbable. According to the second epistle to the Corinthians it seems that between the two epistles Paul paid a visit to Corinth. Timothy may have remained at Ephesus then, and this epistle may have been written at that time. This hypothesis is based upon the hypothesis of that visit to Corinth about which we have no certainty. Besides that voyage cannot have been intended to take any very great time, and so would not admit any necessity for a letter of directions in dogma and in administration. And how could Paul six months later tell the elders of Ephesus that false teachers would rise up among them (Acts xx. 29) if he had already in his letter to

Timothy (i. 3) said that those teachers were among them?

These hypotheses would make the first to Timothy belong to about the year 57. We shall see that the second cannot have been written before 62. And it is difficult to believe that as much as five years elapsed between them, when we remember how identical the style and the matter are in both. Besides, in that case it would have been written about the same time as the epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians and Romans; and that we cannot admit, because St Paul's style does not vary within any one period, whereas both style and subject-matter in this epistle to Timothy differ considerably from those of those other epistles.

Epistle to Titus.—The above applies also to the epistles to Titus and prevents us from believing that it belongs to any other period than the one that produced the epistles to Timothy. Here again various hypotheses have been suggested: Paul wrote it during his stay of two years at Corinth, or on his way from Corinth to Ephesus, or during his stay of three years at Ephesus. He may have gone to Crete, evangelised it rapidly, left Titus there, and written him this epistle. The first two hypotheses cannot be true, because Paul never saw Apollos before going to Ephesus, yet in Titus iii. 13 he knows him well. The third is impossible for the same reason, but less evidently so, for Apollos may have returned from Corinth and have been sent to Crete, though at the end of Paul's stay at Ephesus Apollos was still there with him (1 Cor. xvi. 12), and there was question of his going to Corinth but no question of his going to Crete. This hypothesis is rendered especially impossible by the connection with the first to Timothy, and if the one cannot have been written

during the third missionary journey, neither can the other. Besides the account in Acts xxvii. 7-13 gives no ground for supposing that Paul had ever set foot in Crete or that there were Christian communities there. Hence the epistle cannot have been written before the Roman captivity in the year 60.

Second epistle to Timothy.—This was written in Rome by Paul a prisoner. Was that the imprisonment of Acts xxviii. 16-31 about the year 60? Reuss, Otto and others think that it was written at the beginning of this captivity and before the epistles to Ephesians, Colossians and Philippians. Paul appears a first time before the Emperor, and no one stands by him (iv. 11). Luke alone is with him. Timothy and Mark came at his request (iv. 10) and so are present when he writes to the Colossians (i. 1, iv. 10). In this hypothesis there are several difficulties. Paul tells Timothy that Erastus remains at Corinth and that Trophimus is ill at Miletus (iv. 10). Timothy would have known both these facts, for according to this hypothesis they took place during the third missionary journey while Timothy was with St Paul. Besides Demas who abandoned the Apostle (iv. 10) was still in Rome when he wrote to the Colossians (iv. 14); and Paul is abandoned by all his friends, which does not agree with the epistles of the captivity in which we see that many friends are with him: Aristarchus (Col. iv. 10), Epaphras (*ib.* 12), Luke and Demas (*ib.* 14), Tychicus (Eph. vi. 21) who should be at Ephesus (2 Tim. iv. 12), all which means that the second to Timothy was written after those other epistles, and consequently at the end of this captivity at the earliest. But Paul writes to the Philippians that he will live to visit them (i. 25, 26), this does not agree with 2 Tim. iv. 6 where he says that he is soon to die.

And he speaks of a former setting at liberty in iv. 16 18. The answers by which these difficulties have been met are exegetical *tours de force*. It is easier to believe that this epistle was not written during this captivity of the year 60-62. This leads us to inquire whether St Paul was set free, continued the work of his ministry, and underwent a second captivity in Rome which ended with his death.

Hypothesis of a second imprisonment.—Since the pastoral epistles cannot with any certainty find their place in the known life of St Paul, we must conjecture that they were written during a second imprisonment. Only there are critics who solve the difficulty by denying the authenticity of these epistles, because Christian writings say nothing of a second imprisonment. Therefore we must prove that there was a second imprisonment.

And first of all, if his death was the end of his first imprisonment, how is it that St Luke is silent with regard to it at the end of the Acts of the Apostles? It would have been the natural conclusion. Besides St Paul told the Philippians that he would visit them again (i. 25-28).

Clement of Rome wrote to the Corinthians about the year 93-97 reminding them (v. 4-7) of “the examples of the excellent apostles, Peter who suffered martyrdom, Paul who . . . went to the extremity of the West ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως and then having given testimony before the magistrates was delivered from this world.” For Clement who was a Roman the extremity of the West was Spain. We take that expression literally; Reuss, Schenkel and Weiss take it as a figure of speech, as if St Paul had been compared to the sun which in its course travels from the East to the West.

The Canon of Muratori says : “Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas, optime Theophile, comprehendit quia sub presentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicut et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.” There may be doubts as to the meaning of this text as a whole. But there can be no doubt that it speaks of St Paul’s going from Rome to Spain. The tradition with regard to this voyage cannot be said to have originated in what St Paul says (Rom. xv. 24), for in Rome it must have been known whether he carried out the plan or not. It is true that ecclesiastical writers, with the exception of the *Actus Petri Vercellensis*, are silent on the question. Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* ii. 2) mentions a further preaching of Paul’s after his captivity in the Acts, and his second captivity in Rome, but says nothing of a voyage to Spain. For our purpose however the testimony of Eusebius is valuable, since it shows that St Paul’s life extended beyond what is narrated in the Acts and the epistles.

Whatever the date of St Paul’s death may be, enough time is left for the pastoral epistles between the first and second imprisonment. We must leave alone the question whether he went to Spain, it is of no importance to us, and we have no information with regard to it.

By means of the pastoral epistles we are able to reconstruct the last part of his life. After being in Spain he evangelised Crete with Titus for a companion, he did not stay there long but went on to Asia Minor and Ephesus leaving Titus in Crete. Then he went to Macedonia (1 Tim. i. 3), and on his way or at the end of his journey he wrote to Timothy advising him to remain at Ephesus, and to Titus to

teach him how to conduct his ministry. On his way he visited Miletus (2 Tim. iv. 20), Troas (*ib.* iv. 13), Corinth (*ib.* iv. 20), and we find him in Rome in prison (2 Tim. i. 16, 17), and there he writes the second letter to Timothy. He was beheaded in 67 probably. It is impossible to be quite certain of the date.

CHAPTER VIII

EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

THIS epistle stands by itself among the pauline epistles, and many problems are connected with it, of which various critics offer various solutions. We must state what these problems are, give the various opinions on them, and say what we know for certain and what is only probable.

1. EPISTLE OR TREATISE

Some say that it is not an epistle, because it has no heading, no signature, no address such as we invariably find in the epistles of St Paul, no thanksgivings, no prayers, no indication of the subject of the letter, no token of the occasion why it was written, and no sign of the relations between the writer and the reader such as St Paul always gives. At the end (xiii. 23) there are a few lines of salutations and personal details. But Overbeck and Lipsius say that these are a late addition. Besides the plan of the document is clear, and the development is regular, the arguments are strictly logically connected, and the style is too literary for a letter. Many critics such as Reuss, Baur, Schwegler, Ewald, Hofman have therefore concluded that it was not a letter written to definite readers but "in chronological order the first systematic treatise of Christian theology."

An examination of the epistle does not support this

hypothesis. In several places the writer evidently speaks to definite persons: he asks them to take in good part what he says (xiii. 22), he tells them that Timothy is set free and will go to see them. And there is no reason for declaring these details to be spurious, except that a certain hypothesis finds them inconvenient. It is impossible to maintain that the writer did not know the persons to whom he wrote, for he mentions their defects (v. 11), he knows what they are and what they should be (v. 12), he reminds them of their early struggles (x. 32), of their compassion for prisoners, of how they surrendered their goods (x. 34), he promises them a better future (vi. 9, 10). The literary form does not prove it not to be a letter, for then the epistle to the Romans would not be a letter, since its plan is as clear and its logic as close as that of the epistle to the Hebrews if not closer. In reality it was written to the brethren in some definite church to whom the writer wished to send a message of exhortation (xiii. 22).

2. TO WHOM WAS IT WRITTEN ?

The nationality of the readers is not indicated in any part of the letter. The most ancient MSS. Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and the versions have at the beginning the address: *προς Εβραίους* and are the witnesses of the tradition which exists to this day and is justified by the study of the epistle itself.

The writer's purpose is to show the superiority of the New over the Ancient Covenant in order that the readers may "remain steadfastly attached to the profession of their hope" (x. 23). This proof

might have been put before Christians who had once been Pagans and who were inclined to adopt Jewish beliefs or legal observances like the Galatians, nevertheless the whole train of reasoning supposes rather that these Christians are Jews. "After having spoken in former times to our fathers by the prophets" (i. 1), the Son comes to help the posterity of Abraham (ii. 16), it is always of the Jews never of the Gentiles that the writer speaks. Only Christian Jews could understand the allusion to rules relating to food and ablutions (x. 10), or to purification by the blood of animals (ix. 13). The whole reasoning is based upon the Old Testament. There are twenty-nine direct or lateral quotations and forty-seven reminiscences of biblical writings. The typology had no analogy except in the teaching of Jewish doctors.

Nevertheless certain critics like Schürer, Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, von Soden think that the readers were converted pagans. Voluntary sins (x. 26), hardening by the seduction of sin (iii. 13), the bonds of sin (iii. 1), were subjects that appealed to converts from Paganism rather than to converts from Judaism. And the elementary doctrine as to Christ, faith in God, baptism, resurrection, last judgment were more suitable to Pagan hearers. So also the exhortation to serve the living God (ix. 14) was not meant for Jews.

These remarks are true enough, but they cannot prevail against the general impression produced by the text, and that is that Christian Jews are being addressed. The elementary teaching was originally the substance of all apostolic preaching, no matter what race the hearers belonged to; and the expression: *living God* was taken from the Old Testament and had passed into use on solemn occasions, witness Caipha's adjuration to our Lord (Matt. xxvi. 63).

Harnack thinks that for the writer there was no longer any distinction between Jewish and Pagan Christians. All the passages that are supposed to be addressed to one kind of Christian apply to the other kind. We agree that this is true in many cases but not in all. We maintain that the epistle was written to Jewish converts.

The writer seems (v. ii. x. 22) to know his readers personally. Corinth, Thessalonica, Antioch, Galatia have been mentioned as the places where these Jewish Christians may have lived; but we consider that Rome, Alexandria and Jerusalem are the only places whose claims in this connection are worth discussing.

Wettstein, Holtzman, Mangold, Schenkel, von Soden, Zahn, Alford, Bruce, Renan and Reville think that this epistle was written to the Jewish Christians of Rome. Some special information concerning it was known in Rome, since Eusebius tells us that Rome refused to look upon it as pauline. Clement of Rome drew inspiration from it. The "great combat in the midst of sufferings" (x. 32) and the "despoiling of goods" (34) would apply to the expulsion under Claudius, and the allusions to imminent persecutions (x. 25; xii. 4, 26; xiii. 13), would refer to the future persecution under Nero; finally, salutations are sent from those who are ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας (xiii. 24) which may refer to men who have left Italy, or if ἀπό stands ἐξ, it would mean those who are in Italy and would show that the epistle was written in that country.

These arguments have some weight. On the other hand how could anyone writing to the Romans say that they were slow to understand (v. 11)? We cannot forget that St Paul's epistle to the Romans was meant for readers of considerable intellectual

power, especially when we bear in mind that it speaks of their faith as being known in the whole world (Rom. i. 8). The allusions to sufferings might apply anywhere. Finally this letter was meant for none but Jews, it contains not even an allusion to the Gentiles; but in Rome the majority of Christians were of Gentile origin.

Milligan (Theol. of Ep. to Hebrews) by way of answers to the above supposes that this epistle was addressed to a Christian community in Rome consisting of the Jewish hearers mentioned in the Acts who on their return to their homes in Rome formed themselves into a society, but being isolated were deficient in doctrinal knowledge. This is an attractive hypothesis, but it is gratuitous, there is no text in support of it.

Zahn and Harnack say that this epistle was written to one of the small Christian communities of Rome. There undoubtedly did exist such communities, there was one in the house of Priscilla and Aquila (Rom. xvi. 5) and others are mentioned in verses 14, 15. In this way we see the meaning of the exhortation not to desert their assemblies (x. 25), that is not to go to some other assembly; this exhortation would not in that case refer to a return to the worship of the synagogue. All these hypothesis meet some of the difficulties, but not one meets all of them.

Schmidt, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Davidson, Ritschl and Wieseler say that this epistle was written to the Judeo-Christians of Alexandria. These were numerous and influential from the very beginning, especially in matters of doctrine. This epistle mirrors their ideas, tendencies, and method of interpreting Scripture. No Jews but those of Alexandria could understand the typology of this epistle or the

spiritualising of the legal worship. The quotations come nearer to the Alexandrine codex of the Septuagint than to any other MSS. Expressions peculiar to the Alexandrine books of the Bible occur in this epistle: πολυμερῶς i. 1 = Wisd. vii. 22; ἀπαύγασμα i. 3 = Wisd. vii. 25; ὑποστάσις i. 3 = Wisd. xvi. 21; θεράπων iii. 5 = Wisd. x. 16. The style—both as to words and construction—is similar to that of Philo who was an Alexandrian Jew, and the writer was a member of the community to which he wrote. The difficulties that exegesis finds in the question of the tabernacle (ix. 2, 17) and in what is said of the high priest offering sacrifice daily for sin (vii. 27) would disappear if it were admitted that the writer referred to the Jewish temple of Leontopolis.

These arguments are not convincing. We shall see later on to what extent the writer was under Judeo-Alexandrine influence. But even when we admit that some such influence makes itself felt, there is no proof that this epistle was written to Alexandrian Jews. For it is quite clear that others could understand these ideas. The spiritualisation of the law was known everywhere in the Diaspora, and must have been known in Jerusalem where the Alexandrian Jews had a synagogue (Acts vi. 9). The quotations are not numerous, and only one is really telling. The exegetical difficulties are exactly the same whether the writer was thinking of the temple in Jerusalem or in Leontopolis. Finally if this epistle was written to the Alexandrians, how is it that the Alexandrian doctors: Pantenus, Origen and Clement were not aware of it, or being aware are silent?

Tradition as represented by Pantenus, Clement of Alexandria, Theodore of Mopsuestia and St Jerome

says almost unanimously that this epistle was written to the Christians of Jerusalem. Nowhere else but there were there no Gentiles. That is why the writer nowhere refers to Gentiles. The way in which he speaks of the tabernacle and of the ceremonies of public worship (ix. 2-9) proves that he was thinking of the temple in Jerusalem. No other Christians but those in Jerusalem would have needed to be told that it was not a misfortune to have no part in the temple rites or even to be excluded from them. Because the Christians in Jerusalem, imitating the example of the Apostles, continued for a long time to go to the temple and to take part in its worship. To whom else could the writer say: "You ought to be masters, yet you have need to be taught again the first elements of the word of God" (v. 12, vi. 1-3). The allusion to persecutions in which the chiefs died (xiii. 7) whereas the faithful had not resisted unto blood, would be applicable to the martyrdom of Stephen and James the Less. Finally the promise that God would not forget the good offices to the saints in the past and in the present, applies to the Christians of Jerusalem. In the New Testament *the saints* when there is no qualification usually designates the Christians of Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 2; 2 Cor. viii. 4; Rom. xv. 31).

It is said that if this epistle had been intended to be read in Jerusalem, it would have been written in Aramaic and not in Greek. We answer that Greek was an international language at this time, that many people in Jerusalem understood it, and that the epistle could be translated into Aramaic to be read in public as was the custom in the synagogues for the books of the Old Testament.

3. OCCASION AND OBJECT OF THE EPISTLE
TO THE HEBREWS

The epistle itself is the only source from which we can derive any information as to its purpose. We shall show later on that it was written about the year 63-66. But even if we suppose that it was written at a later date, the following remarks would still have their proper value, and some of them might acquire all the greater demonstrative force. In 63-66 more than thirty years had elapsed since Our Lord made the promise to the Apostles: "this generation shall not pass away until all this come to pass" (Matt. xxiv. 34), referring to the Coming of the Son of Man and the kingdom of God, yet the faithful saw no realisation of the promise. The Lord had been awaited by the whole of the first Christian generation. He had not come, and the generation had passed away. This was a cause of anxiety and of doubt to all the faithful. We have seen a manifestation of it in 1 Thess. v. 13.

The Jewish Christians were more anxious than the converts from Paganism. They had not forgotten the splendour of the ceremonies of the Mosaic worship. They remembered the whole body of laws and observances intended for the sanctification of civil and religious life. Those laws and rites were still for them clothed with the authority of the God "who had made the promise to Abraham" (vi. 13). Nor had they forgotten Moses "who had been faithful in his house to Him that had made him" (iii. 2). God Himself had prescribed the rules of worship (ix. 1), and the tabernacle had been built according to His design (ix. 2-5). There was a High Priest

appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices for the sins of the people and for his own sins (v. 1).

This deception and these memories made the Jewish Christians doubt whether there was any value or efficacy in the Christian institution which, apart from the breaking of bread, had no organisation for worship. No temple, no altar—at least in the material sense, none of those ritual prescriptions to which they were accustomed and which seemed to them to be externally essential to religion. For the Christians of those days, Christianity consisted altogether in the hope of Christ's Coming, and the realisation of that hope seemed more distant every day.

We cannot say whether any apostasies actually occurred, whether any Christians actually went back to Judaism, though x. 39 seems to allude to this having been the case. But faith began to fail, and there were backslidings and falls, for the writer declares it to be impossible that those who have once been enlightened and have had the Holy Ghost and have fallen away should be renewed by repentance (vi. 4-6); he threatens with awful penalties those who trample on the Son of God, who esteem as unclean the blood of the Testament by which they were made holy and offer affront to the Spirit of grace (x. 29); there are some, he says, who abandon their assemblies (x. 25). The exhortations to faithfulness (iii. 1, 2, 6; iv. 14; x. 23; xiii. 9) are so numerous and so urgent that we must believe that faithfulness was failing.

Hence piety and morality suffered loss (vi. 4-8, x. 29), the writer had to warn his readers to respect the marriage bed (xiii. 4), and purity (xii. 16), he had to remind them of sanctification (xii. 12), of fraternal charity and hospitality (xiii. 1).

In order to reassure his readers and to put an end to their doubts, he undertakes to prove that the New Testament is greater than the Old Testament. He shows that the instruments of the Old Testament: angels, prophets, Moses, high priest, priests, and levites are inferior to Christ who is the instrument of the New Testament. Then comparing the two Testaments he shows that the New Testament is the greater because its sanctuary is in heaven, its sacrifice is perfect of its own nature and needs not to be repeated, whereas the Old Testament had its sanctuary on earth and its sacrifices had constantly to be repeated. He draws the conclusion that the faithful must remain true to their faith.

History confirms what we have thus proved by internal evidence. Eusebius (*Hist.* iv. 22) says that after the martyrdom of James the Just, the church of Jerusalem was disturbed by a man named Thebatis who was angry at not having been made bishop in succession to St James. This was also the time when the first tendencies to Ebionitism began to show themselves. The epistle to the Hebrews seems to have had in view Christians who believed that Jesus was the Messiah, and yet thought that the Mosaic rites should continue to be observed.

This is undoubtedly the right view if the epistle was intended for the Christians of Jerusalem, but it would not be true in the case of Rome or Alexandria. In that case the writer's principal object would have been to impress upon the readers his practical exhortations and to strengthen them against the fear of persecution by the thought of the supereminence of Christ in His person and in His work. Yet even in this case he naturally based his whole argument upon the Old Testament, because that was for all Christians,

whether Jews or Gentiles, the divine book ; it was read and expounded in all the Christian assemblies, and Clement of Rome writing to Gentiles at Corinth makes quite as much use of testimonies from the Old Testament as the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews. In a word, in this hypothesis, all that is said of Christ is meant to promote fidelity to Him. This latter opinion differs from the one before it only in the point of view that it takes ; it takes the practical view of this epistle, whereas the other takes the dogmatic view.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

The prologue (i. 1-3) contrasts how God spoke to the Fathers through prophets, and now in the last days has spoken through the Son.

In the body of the epistle from i. 4-iv. 13 the writer treats of the superiority of Christ over the angels and over other mediators. Then from iv. 14-vii. 3 he speaks of the priesthood of Christ being similar to that of Melchisedech, and prepares his readers for no elementary teaching but for that which is perfect. From vii. 4 to x. 18 he shows the superiority of Melchisedech's priesthood over that of the Old Testament, the superiority of Christ's sacrifice over the ancient sacrifices, and that it was necessary that Christ should die. From x. 19 to xiii. 17 he exhorts his readers to persevere in the faith, and recommends hospitality and other virtues.

The epilogue (xiii. 18-25) asks them to pray that the writer may soon be restored to them, and he promises to bring with him Timothy who has recently been set free. He sends the salutations of those from Italy and ends with : " Grace be with you all."

5. DATE OF THE EPISTLE

Tradition gives us no information on this point, and critics are not in agreement with regard to it. Ewald, Lewis and Ramsay place the epistle between 58 and 60; Westcott, Wieseler, Riehm, Weiss, Menegoz, Davidson, Cornely, Schäfer, Trenkle, Belser and Huyghe place it between 65 and 66 probably before the beginning of the Jewish war; Holtzman, Schenkel and von Soden place it in 90 in the time of the persecution under Domitian; Pfeiderer in 95-115; Volkmar, Keim and Hausrath in 116-118 during Trajan's persecution. The latest of these dates are impossible because Clement of Rome writing about 93-97 undoubtedly had this epistle before him, so that we need not discuss them.

We find in the epistle itself information that enables us to fix the date approximatively. We read (chapter ii. 3): "The salvation which was first announced by the Lord has been confirmed to us by those who heard Him"; (v. 12) the readers ought long ago to have been masters; (x. 32) they underwent in the early days after their enlightenment a great trial; (xii. 12) whereas now their hands are weak and their knees feeble, they follow ways not straight; (xiii. 7) the leaders who spoke to them the word of God have reached the end of their lives. From all these texts it fellows that the epistle was written in the time of the second generation of Christians. Timothy's imprisonment would make the date 62-63, for we know of no earlier imprisonment of his. And if we believe the epistle to be addressed to the Christians of Jerusalem, it cannot have been written before the death of St

James, because it says (xiii. 17): "Obey those who are placed over you"; it may be that after the death of St James in 62 the *presbyteroi* of Jerusalem exercised authority, but had some difficulty in doing so, which would explain the exhortation that we have just quoted.

On the other hand, it must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70, because the writer says that levitical sacrifices are still being offered (x. 1-3): "there is made a commemoration every year," and (viii. 4): "if Jesus was on earth He would not be a priest, there being the priests who offer gifts according to the law." Besides the whole reasoning supposes the old Mosaic worship to exist, and as we have said the writer dissuades the readers from going back to it. And once the temple was destroyed, there was no reason to dissuade anyone from going back to that worship, because it no longer existed. Finally the writer would certainly have said that the temple had been destroyed, if it had been destroyed at the time he wrote, for he would have found in that fact an unanswerable argument.

It must however have been written before the Jewish war, since that war is not mentioned. But it was not written long before the war: the times of persecution (xii. 4), and of the promises (x. 36) appear to be near, the faithful see the approach of the great day (x. 25). All these texts point to a great future event. We must therefore fix the date about 63-66.

However critics of real weight, among whom we may mention Zahn (Einl. in das N. T. p. 140), prefer the date of the year 70. The following is a summary of their arguments. The readers belong

to the subapostolic age (ii. 3, 4 ; v. 12 ; x. 22) ; the writer is acquainted with the epistles of St Paul, St Peter, St James, with the writings of St Luke and with the Apocalypse. The Mosaic dispensation is for him an ancient dispensation (ix. 1) that once had a public worship but that has it no longer at the time of his writing. He never speaks of the temple, but always of the tabernacle, which he would not have done had the temple been in existence. If he had wished to allude to the temple, he could have done so even after its destruction, since for a Jew the temple pre-existed in heaven before it was built upon earth, and existed in heaven after it had temporarily been destroyed. Other writers have spoken of it in that way, thus Clement of Rome (Cor. xli. 2) says : " It is not in every place but only in Jerusalem that perpetual and votive sacrifices are offered." We ourselves constantly speak of the past in the present tense, which in grammatical phraseology we call the historic present.

We admit that these arguments have their value, but we do not consider them convincing. For there is time enough before 70 for those who had heard the immediate disciples of the Lord (ii. 3, 4) to have lived and died. We shall presently consider the literary connection of this epistle with other books of the New Testament, but in any case direct borrowing is not evident. The context explains (ix. 1-9). Though the writer does not mention the temple, he thinks of it when he says (ix. 6, 7) : " The priests enter constantly into the first enclosure, whereas the high priest alone enters once a year into the second." He speaks of the tabernacle in place of speaking of the temple, because his argument required him to speak in that way. He bases his thesis upon the Old

Testament and quotes the texts that refer to the Mosaic rites. All these texts speak of the tabernacle and not of the temple. He quotes them simply as he finds them. We admit that the present tense may be used for the past, but that proves that writer might have written after the destruction of the temple in that tense, it does not prove that the temple had been destroyed. On the whole it seems to us more likely that the date is earlier than the year 70.

6. PLACE OF WRITING

On this again tradition is silent. The only clue is in the words: "Those of Italy" (xiii. 24). If ἀπὸ means ἐξ it signifies that those who came from Italy sent their salutations, if it means what ἀπο commonly means it signifies that those who are in Italy send salutations. Some MSS. viz., A. P. 47, are marked ἀπο ρωμης, others K, 109, 113, etc., are marked ἀπο ιταλιας, but those words are recent additions and are evidence only of the opinion of the time when the codex was written.

An ingenious hypothesis originally made by Lewis and afterwards taken up and rendered more probable by Ramsay (Expositor, 1899) is deserving of mention. It is that the epistle to the Hebrews was written during St Paul's imprisonment at Cesarea, and was the outcome of conferences that he had with the presbyters of that town. Its object was to bring about a reconciliation between the Jews of Jerusalem and the partisans of Paul, by showing to the former that the pauline doctrine explained very satisfactorily the relation of the two Testaments to one another. Philip the deacon was the writer. Paul approved,

and wrote the last verses. It is an attractive hypothesis, but it has no support in any text.

7. AUTHOR OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

Christian tradition had not originally anything definite to say on this matter, nor are critics now in agreement concerning it. Let us endeavour to trace the history of the epistle in Christian literature, study the linguistic, doctrinal and historical peculiarities of the epistle itself, and in this way we shall discover the conditions that any hypothesis as to the author's name must comply with.

We must examine the writings of the first three centuries, noting what each author said as to this epistle being part of Holy Writ, and studying separately the two traditions of the East and of the West, for in the beginning they were independent, and the one had no influence on the other until the fifth century.

Tradition of the Eastern Churches.—In the writings of the early Oriental Fathers there are not many passages that remind one of this epistle. The epistle of Barnabas (v. 1) has the expression *ῥαντισμὸς αἵματος* = Heb. xii. 24 which occurs also 1 Peter i. 2; Polycarp calls Christ a High Priest *αἰώνιος ἀρχιερεύς*; Justin calls Him an Apostle, both of these titles occurring in Heb. iii. 1 and not in any other book of the Scriptures. Justin says also (Tryphon, 113) that Christ is an eternal High Priest according to the order of Melchisedech King of Salem, and these titles also occur only in Heb. (v. 9, vi. 20, vii. 13).

Pantenus the head of the catechetical school of Alexandria is the first to give us a definite statement

of the name of the author of this epistle. Eusebius (Hist. vi. 14) quotes his testimony from Clement of Alexandria: "Clement says in his Hypostases that the epistle to the Hebrews is the work of Paul and that it was written in Hebrew. Luke translated it with care for the Greeks, and this explains the similarity of its style to that of the Acts. But he explains that the words "Paul the Apostle" were not put at the commencement, because writing to the Hebrews who looked upon him with suspicion he did not wish to shock them with the sight of his name." "But now"—he continues farther on—"as the blessed presbyter Pantenus says, since the Lord was the Apostle of the Most High and was sent to the Hebrews, Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles was unwilling out of reverence for the Lord to write himself down as Apostle to the Hebrews, because being Apostle of the Gentiles he wrote to the Hebrews, out of superabundance." Elsewhere (Strom. vi. 8) Clement quotes (v. 12) from the epistle which he says Paul wrote to the Hebrews.

Origen's testimony as given by Eusebius is very clear: "The style of the epistle to the Hebrews has not the defects that are characteristic of St Paul's writings, the Apostle himself admits those defects, the diction of this epistle is more pure, and anyone who is able to understand the phraseology can perceive the difference. Again everyone who examines carefully the apostolic writings will admit that the thoughts in this epistle are admirable and in no way inferior to those of admittedly apostolic writings. Were I to give my opinion, I should say that the thoughts *νοήματα* are the Apostle's, but that the wording and the arrangement are the work of someone who remembered the Apostle's teaching. Conse-

quently, if any church looks upon this as a work of St Paul, that is praiseworthy, for it is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as his. But who is the one who wrote the epistle . . . God knows the truth. The tradition has come to us that Clement bishop of the Romans wrote it, others say Luke who wrote the Gospel and the Acts." This judgment is Origen's best and most critical judgment. Yet elsewhere he is more affirmative: he says that he is ready to demonstrate that it is Paul's, and he sometimes quotes it as Paul's adding however that that opinion is not universal. On the whole Origen's opinion appears to be clear enough: the epistle differs from the other pauline epistles in language and in arrangement, but the thoughts are the apostle's. Consequently the writer is not a simple scribe, he is a disciple of Paul's, and he has composed the epistle by commenting on his master's teaching. In everything else, in language and in reasoning, he is original.

The Alexandrine Fathers: St Dionysius, St Peter of Alexandria, St Alexander, St Athanasius, Didymus, St Cyril all attributed this epistle to St Paul. Euthalius speaks of ancient doubts, but answers them in the same way as Origen and Clement of Alexandria. This epistle holds the tenth place in the synopsis of pseudo-Athanasius, and St Epiphanius affirms that there is no MS. that does not contain it in the tenth or fourteenth place. In 264 the Fathers of the Council of Antioch quote it against Paul of Samosata as St Paul's. St Cyril of Jerusalem, St John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret all attribute it to St Paul. Theodoret says that those who look upon it as spurious suffer from the *morbus arianicus*. The Syriac version, the Syraic and

Cappadocian Fathers, and the ecumenical Council of Nicea accept it as being pauline.

Eusebius gives in his history the testimony of various churches on the New Testament writings, he has three categories : the *homologoumena* (accepted by all), the *antilegomena* (disputed) and the apocryphal; he places this epistle in the second category. Yet elsewhere he says distinctly that it is St Paul's : there are he says fourteen epistles admitted and not disputed. Yet again (Hist. iii. 3) he says : " Paul wrote to the Hebrews in their own language, but Clement rather than Luke translated the epistle. But we must mention that some reject the epistle to the Hebrews on the pretext that it was discussed by the church of Rome because it had not been written by St Paul." On the whole, Eusebius, in spite of the doubts that he records, holds that this epistle is pauline.

So that from the end of the second century the Eastern Church held this epistle to be of apostolic origin and canonical, its place in the MSS. was at the end of the pauline epistles and this helped to cause it to be attributed to him. Yet from a literary scruple, people did not believe that the Greek text was apostolic, either because it was a translation, or because it was the work of some other writer. The divergencies as to who the writer was, show that there was no tradition to go by, there were only conjectures. Little by little opinion became solidified, the Alexandrine tradition was accepted without restriction, and the epistle was admitted to be pauline.

Tradition of the Western Church.—St Jerome gives the judgment of the Roman church as follows : "*Sed et apud Romanos usque hodie quasi Pauli Apostoli non habetur.*" Nevertheless this epistle was known in that church from the beginning as we learn from

Eusebius: "In this epistle [to the Corinthians] Clement gives many thoughts taken from the epistle to the Hebrews and quotes verbally from it, showing plainly that it is not a recent production. Some have thought that Clement translated it from the Hebrew. That seems probable because between the epistle of Clement and the epistle to the Hebrews there is similarity of style and thought." St Jerome also insists on this point. Funk gives twenty and Holtzman forty-seven passages in Clement's epistle to the Corinthians which remind one of the epistle to the Hebrews, the expressions are identical, but not one is a literal quotation.

After Clement, no writer of the Roman church quotes the epistle to the Hebrews until the fourth century. The similarities noticed in the Pastor of Hermas are very indefinite. Marcion had it not in his Apostolicon. Muratori's Canon does not mention it, but appears to exclude it by the statement that Paul wrote to seven churches, whereas the number would be eight if this epistle were counted. This epistle cannot be the one *Ad Alexandrinos* which is mentioned after the epistle *Ad Laodicenses*, because the Canon goes on to say that it was put under the name of Paul to defend the heresy of Marcion. The catalogue of Claromontanus (third or fourth century) does not contain this epistle. Yet the epistle must have been known in Rome, for Eusebius mentions that a Roman priest Caius in the beginning of the third century knew it and did not think it to be pauline, and "to this day, he adds, there are some among the Romans who do not consider it to be the work of the Apostle" (Hist. vi. 20). The *Ῥωμαῖοι* mentioned here are not the Christians of Rome only, they are the Latins in general. Melchisedechians,

whose chief was the Roman banker Theodotus, proved from this epistle that Melchisedech had no father or mother. St Ireneus does not quote this epistle in *adv. her.*, though he quotes all the other epistles of St Paul except the one to Philemon; yet in two places he seems to have had it in mind: "The Father established all things by the word of his power" (*adv. her.* ii. 30 = Heb. i. 3), and: "The old law is the figure and the shadow of future things" (*ib.* iv. 11 = Heb. x. 1). Eusebius informs us that in a work which is now lost: *τῶν διαλέξεων διαφόρων* Ireneus speaks of the epistle to the Hebrews and quotes from it. The heretic Gobaros (*Bibl. de Photius ed. Becker, p. 391*) tells us that Ireneus and Hippolytus in the third century did not consider this epistle to be the work of the Apostle.

From the churches of Rome and Gaul let us go now to those of Africa whose testimony we shall find to be very important. Tertullian quotes this epistle only once and attributes it to Barnabas. He proves a thesis by quotations from the Old Testament, the Gospels, the epistles of St Paul, the Apocalypse, the first epistle of St John, and adds: "*Volo tamen ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis apostolorum testimonium superducere. Extat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos. Et utique receptor apud Ecclesias epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho Pastore mæchorum*" —he quotes chapter vi. 1 and 4-8 and continues: "*Hoc qui ab apostolis docuit nunquam mæcho et fornicatori secundam pœnitentiam promissam ab apostolis norat. Optime enim legem interpretabatur et figuras ejus jam in ipsa veritate servabat.*" That last sentence puts it beyond all doubt that he is speaking of the epistle to the Hebrews.

We cannot say whether Novatianus and Novatus

knew of this epistle, or whether they held it to be pauline, we find no quotations from it in their writings. But from the text of Philaster which we shall presently quote their adherents appear to have made a bad use of this epistle. Neither St Cyprian nor any of the writers whose books are attributed to him quote from this epistle; he did not believe it to be St Paul's for he says that the Apostle wrote to seven churches.

The Latin Church therefore before the fourth century knew of this epistle but did not believe it to be pauline. St Jerome gives the following account of the opinion of his time: "*Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos non solum ab Ecclesiis Orientis sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus quasi Pauli apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrentur: et nihil interesse cujus sit quum ecclesiastici viri sit, et quotidie Ecclesiarum lectione celebretur. Quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter canonicas scripturas; nec Græcorum quidem Ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Joannis eadem libertate suscipiunt; et tamen nos utrumque suscipimus; nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum scriptorum auctoritatem sequentes, qui plerumque utriusque abutuntur testimoniis, non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent, quippe qui et gentilium literarum utuntur exemplis, sed quasi canonicis et ecclesiasticis.*"

Hilary of Poitiers (de Trin. 4, 11), Lucifer of Cagliari (de non conv. cum her. ed. Migne, 13, p. 782), Victorinus (adv. Arium, 1), Gaudentius (Migne, 20, 348), Faustinus (de Trin. 2), Ambrose (de fuga sæc. 16), and Rufinus (symb. apost. 37) quote it as St Paul's. Nevertheless Philaster bishop of Brescia

at the end of the fourth century says: "Sunt alii quoque qui epistolam Pauli ad Hebræos non asserunt esse ipsius, sed dicunt Barnabæ apostoli aut Clementis de Urbe episcopi, alii autem Lucæ Evangelistæ." The list in the Codex Mommseianus written in Africa towards the end of the fourth century contains only thirteen epistles of St Paul.

St Augustin's testimony is very characteristic. In what he wrote before 406 he quotes this epistle as St Paul's. From 409 to 420 which is the date of his death he calls it always *Epistula ad Hebræos* without however pronouncing it not to be pauline. He mentions the doubts, but does not give his own opinion: "In epistula quæ dicitur ad Hebræos quam plures apostoli Pauli esse dicunt, quidam vero negant" (de civ. Dei, 16, 22). Yet he continues to hold it to be canonical: "Magis me movet auctoritas Ecclesiarum orientalium quæ hanc (epistolam) in canonicis habent" (de pec. meritis i. 27, 50).

The same uncertainty, but in a different sense, is to be seen in the canons of the African Councils at this time. The Councils of Hippo in 393 and of Carthage in 397 accept as canonical: "Pauli apostoli epistolæ tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos una," but that of Carthage in 419 says: "Epistolæ Pauli apostoli quatuordecim." Innocent I. sent a list of the canonical books to Exuperius bishop of Toulouse in 405, and gave in it fourteen epistles of St Paul. The same is the case with the decree that goes by the name of Pope Gelasius, which is probably the catalogue of Pope Damasus. And this has ever since been the rule for the Western Church.

Hence it was not until the beginning of the fifth century that the two traditions of the East and the West coincided as to the authenticity and pauline

authorship of the epistle to the Hebrews. The theologians of the Middle Ages accepted it without question. It was only in the sixteenth century that the question was reopened by Erasmus and Cajetan. The latter holds that the epistle is not pauline and is consequently not canonical, mistakenly connecting authenticity and canonicity.

The Council of Trent declares sacred and canonical fourteen epistles of St Paul to the Romans . . . to the Hebrews. The Fathers of the Council had no doubt about the authorship, if they had had any, they would have expressed it as they did in the case of the Psalms of David. Hence Melchior Canus (*de locis theol.* 2, 11) says: “*Quum hereticum sit eam epistolam a Scripturis sacris excludere, certe temerarium est (ne quid amplius dicamus) de ejus auctore dubitare quem Paulum fuisse certissimis testimoniis constat.*” Nevertheless since the definitions of the Church are to be taken strictly, we think that the question of the pauline origin is still open, and that the Council spoke in commonly received terms, without intending to define the authenticity.

The reformers, Luther first among them, rejected this epistle. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Protestant theologians accepted it again. At the present time every Protestant critic except two: Biesenthal and Kay, dispute its pauline origin. The Catholics believe that St Paul was the author, but many of them make as to the meaning of the word *author* the distinctions that Origen made long ago.

Language of the epistle. Original language.—Was this epistle written in Hebrew or in Greek? Various answers are given to this question. Clement of Alexandria thought as we have seen that the

original was in Hebrew and that St Luke translated it into Greek. Origen gave quite a different reason to explain why this epistle differs so much from the other pauline epistles in style, and we know from these two facts that there is no ancient tradition behind either account. Eusebius admits that the original was in Hebrew, but says that Clement was the translator and not Luke. Many writers: Theodoret, Euthalius, Primasius, John Damascene. Œcumenius, Theophylactus, Cosmas Indicopleustes, etc., adopt this view. St Jerome sums up as follows: "*Scripserat Paulus ut Hebræus Hebræis hebraice, id est suo eloquio disertissime ut ea quæ eloquenter scripta fuere in hebræo eloquentius verterentur in græcum et hanc causam esse quod a cœteris Pauli epistolis discrepare videatur.*" This hypothesis was adopted in the Middle Ages by Raban Maur, St Thomas, etc., and later on by Cornelius a Lapide, Noel Alexander, Godhagen, and now by some Protestants and some Catholics. By way of preliminary observation we may remark that all the versions in Latin, Syriac, Coptic and Armenian have been made from the Greek.

The Greek of this epistle is too idiomatic to be a translation. To see that this is the case, you need only compare this epistle with a Greek translation from the Hebrew, with any book of the Septuagint for example. Hebrew sentences are made up of co-ordinate propositions, whereas in Greek the propositions are subordinate and are connected by conjunctions that require skilful handling. In a translation from the Hebrew, the sentences keep their Semitic structure. But that is not the case in this epistle, the periods are numerous and well joined together; and it is difficult to believe that a

translator could have put them in if the original text had been without them. We have here therefore an original composition from the pen of a Jew who was well acquainted with Greek. It cannot be compared except with the Greek Books of the Old Testament and with the writings of Philo.

The author was a Jew, for he uses hebraisms: *tasting death* (ii. 9), *seed for posterity*, *flesh and blood* for man, *finding grace*, *ὁμολογία* (iii. 1) *faith confessed*, *εὐλογία* (vi. 7) *blessing*, *to work justice*, *ῥῆμα* (vi. 5) for *promise*, *coming from the loins* meaning: being born of, *seeing death* meaning: dying (xi. 5), *walking in* meaning: making use of (xiii. 9), *before God* meaning: in God's presence (xiii. 21).

The above are hebraisms of words or expressions, but there are also hebraisms of grammar: substantives in the genitive in opposition to other substantives instead of adjectives (i. 3) *by the word of his power* for: his powerful word (ix. 5); *Cherubim of glory* for: glorious Cherubim (iv. 2); *the word of hearing* for: the word heard (v. 13); *word of justice* for: just word. Hebrew words are not declined (vii. 11, ix. 4, 5; xi. 30; xii. 22). There is the construction ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ (iii. 12) instead of a genitive; λαλεῖν ἐν (i. 1) for διὰ; ὁμνυμι κατὰ τίνος (vi. 13) for the accusative; καταπαύειν intransitive, with ἀπὸ (iv. 10); εἶναι εἰς τι (viii. 10) for εἶναι τι; the pleonasm ἐαυτοῖς or ἐν ἐαυτοῖς with ἔχειν (x. 34). A Greek would not have said (i. 1): ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων nor (v. 7) ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ.

These few hebraisms do not prove that this is a translation from the Hebrew, there would be many more in that case. For the sake of comparison we may take Luke i. 5-80 which is about one-fifth as long as this epistle. That fragment translated or

adapted from the Aramaic contains more than thirty hebraisms.

There are also Greek expressions that have no equivalent in Hebrew and are untranslatable: i. 3 ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης reflection of His glory; v. 2 μετριοπαθεῖν to have compassion; v. 11 δυσερμήνευτος difficult to explain; xii. 1 ἐνπερίστατος easily circumventing; and the phrase (xi. 1) “faith the substance of things hoped for, the proof of things unseen.”

Above all there are paronomases and alliterations or plays upon words that could neither be understood nor have been made if the original had not been in Greek: v. 8 ἔμαθεν ἀφ’ ᾧν ἔπαθεν, v. 14 καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ, vii. 19 and vii. 22 ἐγγίζομεν and ἔγγος, viii. 7 and viii. 8 ἄμεμπτος and μεμφόμενος, ix. 28 προσενεχθεῖς and ἀνενεγκεῖν, xiii. 14 οὐ μένουσαν and μέλλουσαν, i. 1 πολυμερῶς and πολυτρόπως, ii. 8 ὑποτάξαι and ἀνυπότακον, vii. 3 ἀπάτωρ and ἀμήτωρ, vii. 23 παραμένειν and μένειν, ix. 10 βρώμασι and πόμασι, x. 29 ἡγησάμενος and ἡγιάσθη. How can we suppose that both in Hebrew and in Greek there are so many words that could be used thus alliteratively?

The quotations from the Old Testament agree with the Septuagint even when it is not in agreement with the Hebrew. Nor is it possible to suppose that the translator has adapted the Hebrew text to the Greek, because the argument is sometimes based upon a passage where the two texts disagree. In x. 5 the author quotes Psalm xxxix. 7 according to the Septuagint: “That is why the Son coming into this world says: Sacrifice and oblation thou wouldst not accept but thou didst make for me a body,” the reasoning bears altogether upon the words: “Thou didst make for me a body” which are in the Septuagint, whereas in Hebrew there is: “Thou didst open my

ears." The author did not know the Hebrew text, for he could not have based his argument upon it.

In other places he quotes facts from the Septuagint that are given differently in the Hebrew. Thus (xi. 21) he says that Jacob adored the top of his rod, the Hebrew text says: the head of his bed. We find in xii. 15 that he has even copied a faulty translation that is peculiar to the Codex Alexandrinus: *ρίζα πικρίας ἄνω φύουσα ἐνοχλῇ a root of bitterness throwing up trouble*, whereas the Vatican Codex translates correctly from the Hebrew: *ρίζα ἄνω φύουσα ἐν χολῇ καὶ πικρίᾳ a root producing in bitterness and trouble*. From all this we conclude that the original text of this epistle was in Greek and not in Hebrew.

Vocabulary of the epistle.—There are 168 *hapax-legomena*, of which 12 occur here for the first time: ἀγενεαλόγητος, αἱματεκχυσία, ἔκτρομος, εὐπερίστατος, εὐποιᾶ, θεατρίζομαι, μετριωπαθεῖν, μισθαποδοσία, πρόσχυσις, συγκακουχέομαι, τελειωτής ὑποστολή; 18 occur in contemporary or later literature: ἀθέτησις, δυσερμήνευτος, πολυμερῶς, τραχηλιζεῖν, etc.; 74 words occur in classic writers and in the Septuagint but not in any other books of the New Testament: αἴγιος, αἴτιος, εὐλάβεια, φοβερός, χαρακτήρ, etc.; 13 are post-classical and occur in the Septuagint but not in the New Testament: ἀγνόημα, λειτουργικός, ἀπαύγασμα, προτοτόκια, etc. Compound words abound in this epistle, and where St Paul makes use of a simple word this epistle makes use of one that is compound. Thus: μισθαποδοσία (ii. 2) and μισθος (1 Cor. iii. 8), ἡ συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος (ix. 26) and τὸ τέλος τῶν αἰώνων (1 Cor. x. 11), συνεπιμαρτυρεῖν (ii. 4) and μαρτυρεῖν (Gal. v. 3), ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλοσύνης (viii. 1) and ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ (Col. iii. 1), ἀναλογίζεσθαι (xii. 3) and λογίζεσθαι (Rom. iii. 28). A complete

account of these words is given in Westcott's *Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 14.

Now let us compare the vocabulary of this epistle with that of the other pauline epistles. There are 292 words here that are not found in the other epistles, of these 162 are compounds, the 130 remaining are words in common use that St Paul would have employed had they belonged to his vocabulary.

The particles that have so much to do with the character of a style are not used in the same way in St Paul and in this epistle. The following table will show clearly how conjunctions, prepositions and adverbs are used in the pauline epistles and in the epistle to the Hebrews:

	St Paul Times	Epistle to Hebrews Times
ἔι τις	50	Not once
ἔιτε	63	„
ἔι πως	3	„
πότε	19	„
ἐι δὲ καὶ	4	„
ἔιπερ	5	„
ἔκτος ἐι μὴ	3	„
ἔιγε	5	„
μὴ πῶς	12	„
μηκέτι	10	„
μὲν οὖν γε	3	„
ἐάν	88	2
ἐι μὴ	28	1
ἐι καὶ	16	1
ἐι οὐ	16	1
ὅταν	23	1
ὅτε	20	2
ὥστε	39	1

	St Paul Times	Epistle to Hebrews Times
μηδέίς } μηδέ } πῶς ὅθεν	29 40 Not once	2 1 6
ἐάνπερ	„	3
καθ' ὅσον	„	3
καίτοι	„	1
ἔϊτα	5	1
ἄρα	27	2
πάντοτε	27	1
ἐπεὶ	10	9

The author of this epistle is fond of the prepositions *ἀπό*, *κατά*, *μετά*, whereas St Paul prefers *διά*, *ἐκ*, *σύν*, *ὑπέρ*, *περί*, *παρά*, *ὑπό*, which are unknown in the epistle to the Hebrews. As rhetorical formulas St Paul is fond of: *τί οὖν*, *τί γάρ*, *ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις*, *μὴ γένοιτο*, *ἄρα οὖν*, *οὐκ οἶδατε*; whereas this writer prefers *ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν*, *εἰς τὸ διηγεσθαι*, *καθ' ὅσον* which St Paul never makes use of.

Verbs and cases are also used differently by the two writers. The verb *καθίζω* is transitive (Eph. i. 20) and intransitive (Heb. i. 3) in the same context, *κοινωνεῖν* governs the genitive (Heb. ii. 14) and the dative (Rom. xii. 13, xv. 27; Gal. vi. 6, etc.), *κρατεῖν* governs the genitive (Heb. iv. 14) and the accusative (Col. ii. 19), *εὐαγγελίζομαι* is always in the middle voice in St Paul and twice in the passive voice in this epistle (iv. 2, 6). The optative occurs 32 times in St Paul, and only once in this epistle, which is astonishing considering how idiomatic the Greek is.

The epistle to the Hebrews has expressions that are quite peculiar to it: *διαφερότερον ὄνομα κληρονομεῖν*, *εἶναι εἰς πατέρα*, *ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν λαλεῖσθαι*, *προσέρχεσθαι θρόνῳ χάριτος*, *κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτολῶν*. The word

κρείττων in this epistle stands 11 times for the *most excellent* and only once in St Paul (1 Cor. xii. 31) and there the best MSS. have μεῖζων. This epistle has προσέρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ 5 times, St Paul has it only once (1 Tim. vi. 3) and the text is doubtful. This epistle has θεὸς ζῶν (iii. 12) ζῶν ὁ λόγος (iv. 12) 6 times, and St Paul has it not once. This epistle has τελειόω 9 times in the sense of *making perfect*, and St Paul has it once (Philip. iii. 12) in the sense of *being perfect*. The words ἱερεὺς and ἀρχιερεὺς occur respectively 14 and 17 times in this epistle and not once in St Paul.

On the other hand there are in St Paul words and expressions that are never found in the epistle to the Hebrews: εὐαγγέλιον in the sense of revelation of God by Christ 69 times, κατεργάζομαι 21 times, μυστήριον 21 times, πληρώω 23 times, οἰκοδομέω 8 times, δικαιόω 26 times, φρονέω φρονημα . . . 31 times in St Paul and never in this epistle. The group of the words ἀγαπάω, ἀγάπη, ἀγαπητός 135 times in St Paul, twice in this epistle, and only in quotations; αληθεια and cognate words 55 times in St Paul, twice in this epistle, καύχημα, etc., 58 times in St Paul, once in this epistle and then it is used of Christ.

Certain words have a different meaning in the two places: υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, κληρονόμος, ὑπόστασις, τάξις, ἔργον, πίστις. St Paul calls Our Lord: *Jesus Christ, Christ Jesus, the Lord Jesus*, and once in thirty times simply *Jesus*; but the epistle to the Hebrews says *Jesus* 9 times out of 13, 3 times *Jesus Christ*, and once *Jesus Our Lord*.

St Paul's epithets for Our Lord are: πρωτότοκος, πρωτότοκος τῆς κτίσεως, πρῶτος ἐκ νεκρῶν, δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος, μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, κεφαλὴ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, whereas in this epistle the epithets are: χριστὸς υἱὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἀρχιερεὺς, ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ὁμολογίας, ἀπόστολος,

μεσίτης διαθήκης, ἀρχηγὸς σωτηρίας, ἀρχηγὸς πίστεως, κληρονόμος παντῶν, ἀπαύγασμα δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

There are however some expressions that are found in the epistles of St Paul and in this epistle to the Hebrews and nowhere else: 7 words ἀγιότης, ἀφιλάργυρος, ἐπισυναγωγή, καθώςπερ, νεκρώ, πληροφορία, συγκληρονόμος occur first in both places. The epithet νεκρωμένος is applied to Abraham both in Rom. iv. 19 and Heb. xi. 12; καταργέω has the same meaning in Heb. ii. 14 and Rom. iii. 31; 2 Tim. i. 10. The pronoun τίνες means a multitude in 1 Cor. x. 7, 10 and in Heb. iii. 16. We find περισσοτέρως 10 times in Paul and twice in Hebrews, νυνὶ 18 times in Paul and twice in Hebrews, καθάπερ 11 times in Paul and once in Hebrews; and these words never occur elsewhere in the New Testament.

Holtzman gives a great number of words, expressions and ideas that are common to the pauline epistles and to this epistle:

Heb. ii. 10	=	Rom. xi. 36
„ iii. 6	=	„ v. 12
„ vi. 12	=	„ iv. 13, 20
„ x. 38	=	„ i. 7
„ xi. 26 }	=	„ xv. 3
„ xiii. 13 }		
„ xii. 14	=	„ { xii. 18
		„ { xiv. 19
„ xiii. 1	=	„ xii. 10
„ xiii. 2	=	„ xii. 13
„ xiii. 9	=	„ xiv.
„ ii. 4	=	1 Cor. xii. 4, 7-11
„ ii. 8	=	„ xv. 27
„ ii. 10	=	„ viii. 6
„ ii. 14	=	„ xv. 26

Heb. iii. 7-19	}	= 1 Cor. x. 1-11	
„ xii. 18-25			
„ xii. 4	=	„	{ix. 24 x. 13
„ v. 12	=	„	iii. 2
„ xi. 1	=	„	xv. 19
„ v. 14	=	„	ii. 6

These similarities by no means prove unity of authorship, or that one writer copied from the other; the problem is much more complicated than that, considering the divergencies mentioned above. What they do prove is that the writer of Hebrews was well acquainted with the writings of St Paul. And we may well believe that he was a disciple of the Apostle and admitted to intimacy with him.

Style of the epistle.—The author was undoubtedly skilled in writing and in the Greek language. Blass (Gram. des Neut. Griech. p. 247), a very competent critic, after analysing the first four verses of the first chapter and showing that the rules of Greek rhetoric are observed in them, goes on to say: “The remainder of this epistle is composed in quite as flowing a style, and is quite as good rhetorically; the whole work, especially as regards the composition of words and sentences, must be held to be a piece of artistic prose. Paul on the contrary never takes the trouble that is indispensable for a polished style of writing, and in spite of all his eloquence we never find in him an artistically constructed sentence.” “The epistle to the Hebrews is the only piece of writing in the New Testament that in the structure of the sentences or in style shows the care and skill of a practised writer, it is the only one in which there is no hiatus such as good classical prose does not tolerate.”

The rhythm is so well observed that Blass has been

able to scan the whole epistle and to find in it the various forms of Greek verse. The order of the words, the breaks and the parentheses are well managed. The sentences are constructed with regularity, they are balanced, the protasis and apodosis are well marked, and the *μέν* and *δέ* are never omitted. Many parts are of distinguished beauty: i. 14; ii. 2-4, 14-18; vi. 1, 2; vii. 20-28; ix. 23-28; xii. 18-24, and especially the splendid chapter (xi.) on Faith.

Now, if we compare the style of this epistle with St Paul's we find many marked differences. As Bovon (Theol. du N. T. ii. p. 391) says: "If Paul is an incomparable dialectician, the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has the qualities of an orator, he has depth and wealth, he likes to write well, and is never negligent." His plan is clearly drawn, every part is developed with regularity and is carefully directed towards the main purpose, the arguments all flow logically one from the other. The eloquence is calm and tranquil, it differs altogether from Paul's fiery and passionate eloquence; it is rhetorical and not polemical. The anacoluthons and the unfinished sentences that one sees on every page in St Paul are almost altogether absent here. The parentheses that produce so many incomplete periods in St Paul are managed with dexterity by this writer, and though sometimes they are both long and repeated, still the construction is never spoiled by them—*e.g.* vii. 20-22, v. 7-10, vii. 1, 2 and especially xii. 18-24. Proofs are not so varied as in St Paul, the argument is almost wholly Scriptural, whereas St Paul makes use of metaphysical, psychological and moral proofs, he makes texts of Scripture serve principally to complete the demonstration. We shall see farther

on how the two writers differ in their manner of bringing Scriptural quotations.

In this epistle, moral exhortation is intimately connected with dogmatic teaching (iii. 12-iv. 16, v. 11-vi. 12); whereas St Paul treats of dogma first and afterwards of morals. There are no sudden and abrupt changes of subject here such as occur frequently in St Paul, the transitions are here skilfully brought about, *e.g.* (i. 1-5) the transition from the preamble to the subject-matter, (iv. 14-v. 1) the return to the subject after a digression on morals, or (ix. 9-12) the transition from the sanctuary to the sacrifices.

Nevertheless there are instances where the style of the two writers is analogous: the word of God is a sword (Eph. vi. 17 and Heb. iv. 12) the imperfect to be fed with milk and grown men with solid food (1 Cor. iii. 1; Heb. v. 13). Both writers take their comparisons from warfare (1 Cor. ix. 24; Col. ii. 1; Phil. i. 30; Heb. xii. 1, 4, 12, 13; iv. i, v. 10), from building (1 Cor. iii. 10; Heb. vi. 1), from agriculture (1 Cor. iii. 6-8; Heb. vi. 7, 8).

Quotations from the Old Testament.—There are in the epistle to the Hebrews 29 literal quotations from the Old Testament and 47 reminiscences of it. The quotations are all anonymous whereas St Paul often mentions the author: Moses saith (Rom. x. 19), David saith (Rom. iv. 6). Our epistle represents God as speaking: "God who in former times spoke to our fathers" (i. 1 *cf.* i. 5, 7; v. 5), once are words attributed to the Son (ii. 12, 13), once to Christ (x. 5), twice to the Holy Ghost (iii. 7, x. 15). Some words are attributed to God that are not His directly since the author speaks in his own name and of God in the third person (iv. 4-8, x. 30, ii. 13). St Paul attributes to God only words that really are His (Rom. ix. 15-

25; 2 Cor. vi. 2). Introductory formulas are usually general in St Paul: *as it is written, the Scripture saith, the Law said*, and the most ordinary formula: *it is written* occurs 31 times in St Paul, but only once in the epistle to the Hebrews.

The Septuagint is quoted here even when it does not agree with the Hebrew (iv. 4, x. 3-10, iii. 7, i. 10, xii. 5, viii. 8, x. 37, xii. 27, vi. 13, ix. 20, x. 20). Three free quotations represent exactly neither the Hebrew nor the Septuagint (xii. 20, xiii. 5, i. 6). One would say therefore that the writer knew no Hebrew, and that for him the Septuagint was the sacred and authoritative text. St Paul also usually quotes the Septuagint, and he quotes it with some freedom and sometimes against the Hebrew, yet at other times he is nearer to the Hebrew and corrects the Septuagint by the original text (Rom. ix. 9, x. 14; 1 Cor. iii. 19).

Historical circumstances.—These are few and indefinite. But let us see whether they are true of St Paul. The writer speaks very distinctly of two preachings of the faith: one by the Lord which neither he nor his readers heard, the other one by the Apostles and this both he and his readers have heard (ii. 3). Now St Paul over and over again maintains that he had a direct revelation from Christ and that he learned nothing whatever from the Apostles (Gal. ii. 6). It would be astonishing if he wrote to the Jews of Jerusalem without asserting this claim more than ever. For if this writer had been able to say, as St Paul does say in more than one place, that he had heard from the Lord that the old Law was abrogated, he would have had an unanswerable argument.

The writer never represents himself to be an apostle, as St Paul always does, he represents himself as a brother (xiii. 22). And evidently the form is not the

form of a pauline epistle : there is no name, or address, or salutation by name.

Some think x. 34 to be an allusion to St Paul's captivity: "You showed compassion for my chains." But in spite of some good MSS. the true reading is: "You have shown compassion for prisoners" *δεσμύοις* not *δεσμοῖς*.

Doctrine of the epistle.—We do not mean to go through the whole of the theology of this epistle, we intend only to compare it with pauline theology, in order to see how they agree and how they differ.

The point of view is different, and that of course produces many other differences. For St Paul looks upon the Law as a rule of life given by God for the purpose of causing justification, only that our carnal nature prevented this good result (Rom. viii. 3). This epistle looks upon the Law as a body of ritual and moral precepts intended to bring about union between God and man, it was the sign of a pact between Jehovah and His people, and has been abrogated "for its powerlessness and uselessness because the law brought nothing to perfection (vii. 18, 19). So that in the former case, man was in fault; in the latter, the Law is at fault.

Hence St Paul goes on to prove that the Law was abrogated because it had finished its work which was to show that man needed grace and without it could not serve God. This epistle goes on to show how much greater and more efficacious the New Testament is than the Old Testament in its sacrifice and its Mediator. In a word, St Paul's view is that the Old Testament was a preparation for the Gospel; and this epistle's view is that it was a figure or a shadow of the future reality.

These two points of view are different but not in-

consistent. In fact they coincide in many ways. Thus: the Son is sent in the last times (Heb. i. 1), in in the fulness of time (Gal. iv. 4), the Law is powerless and useless (Heb. vii. 18 = Gal. iv. 9), the works of the Law are the shadow of things to come (Heb. x. 1; Col. ii. 17), the heavenly Jerusalem is mentioned (Heb. xii. 22) and (Gal. iv. 26) Abraham's faith is praised (Gal. iii. 6 and Heb. xi. 9-18).

When we pass from the consideration of the point of view to the consideration of particular dogmas, we find the same kind of differences and also the same kind of resemblances. Christ is in Heb. i. 2 "the heir of all through whom He made the ages," and in Col. i. 16 "in Him all things were made"; in Heb. i. 3 He is "the splendour of the glory and the figure of the substance," in 2 Cor. iv. 4 and Col. i. 15 "the image of God" (Philip. ii. 16) "in the form of God"; in Heb. i. 9 "first-begotten" (Col. i. 15) "first-begotten of all creation" (*cf.* Rom. viii. 29). Christ participated in flesh and blood in order to destroy the power of him who has empire over death (Heb. ii. 14 and Rom. viii. 2, 3). Christ died once (Heb. vii. 27), He dies no more (Rom. vi. 9). He sits at God's right hand (Heb. i. 3; Eph. i. 20), He lives to intercede (Heb. vii. 25; Rom. viii. 34).

We must notice that for St Paul the central point of doctrine is that Christ rose from the dead, but in this epistle the central point is that He sits in heaven in glory as High Priest. For St Paul, Christ lives in Christians (Gal. ii. 20; Rom. viii. 1; Eph. i. 3), He is the head and they are the members, but in this epistle He officiates as the High Priest of Christians if they lift up their hearts to Him by faith. But of course these two ways of looking at the dogma are not inconsistent.

As to Christ's having died for our sins, that doctrine is common to the pauline epistles and to this one to the Hebrews. But there is a difference as to how His death caused our Redemption: St Paul teaches the substitution of Christ for us, *satisfactio vicaria* (Gal. iii. 13; Rom. viii. 3) and especially 2 Cor v. 21, whereas in the epistle to the Hebrews the sacrifice of Christ supersedes the sacrifices of the Old Law, the great difference being in the value of the victim, but there was no substitution in those sacrifices. The sinner expiated his sin by destroying something of value, but the thing destroyed was not a substitute for the sinner. And so in this epistle Christ offered to God the most precious thing that He possessed, viz. His own life, to obtain remission of sins, and there is expiation in the destruction of the person offered, but there is not strictly speaking a substitution of one person for another. It is another point of view, though it is not in disagreement with that of the pauline epistles.

The occasional cause of the Incarnation is given differently by St Paul and by the author of this epistle. The former says that Christ being rich made himself poor to make us rich (1 Cor. viii. 9), He was in the form of God (Philip. ii. 6) and took the form of a servant; the latter says that Christ learned to sympathise with men because of His Incarnation, He became perfect through suffering (ii. 10, v. 9). Here again the two explanations complete one another and are not inconsistent.

The epistle to the Hebrews gives a definition of faith (xi. 1). According to this definition faith is an act of the mind. St Paul holds that view also in many places (Rom. x. 9; Gal. iii. 25), but he goes further and makes faith to be an act of the will by

which the believer lives in Christ: "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me . . . I live in the faith in the Son of God" (Gal. ii. 20). We do not find in Hebrews that mystical union with Christ by faith. Yet even here faith belongs to the heart (x. 22): "Since we have a high priest . . . let us approach with a heart sincere in the fulness of faith." There is no need to prove that in both writers faith justifies: both quote from Habacuc "the just shall live by faith."

Relations between Hebrews and contemporary writings.—We have said that the author of this epistle, if it was not St Paul, must have been a disciple of his. The question is whether this disciple felt the influence of any other teacher. And it is probable that being both a Christian and a Jew, he studied and was influenced by contemporary Jewish and Christian writings.

Of all the New Testament writings that come from Jews, the first epistle of St Peter is the one that most closely resembles this one to the Hebrews, both in style and in doctrine. Let us take first the verbal similarities:

ἀντίτυπος	Heb. ix. 24;	1 Peter iii. 21
πλανώμενοι	„ v. 2	„ ii. 25
ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι	„ xi. 13	„ i. 1
ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶν	„ iv. 12	„ i. 23
κληρονομεῖν τὴν ἐνδοξίαν	„ xii. 17	„ iii. 9
ἐιρήνην διωκεῖν	„ xii. 14	„ iii. 1
θεὸς καταρτίσαι	„ xiii. 21	„ v. 10
αἶμα ἁμῶν	„ ix. 14	„ i. 19:
αἵματι ὡς ἀμνὸν ἁμῶν.		

And there are also expressions that are similar:

Mention of the body of Christ (Heb. x. 5, 10 and

1 Peter ii. 24). Mention of the offering of his blood (Heb. xii. 24 and 1 Peter i. 2). Jesus our pattern in suffering (Heb. xii. 1-3 and 1 Peter ii. 21-23). Through Him we offer sacrifice of praise (Heb. xiii. 15 and 1 Peter ii. 5).

Doctrinal similarities are very distinct :

Faith is confidence in God who rewards (Heb. xi. 1-3 ; 1 Peter i. 5-9). Hope is recommended (Heb. vi. 11, 18 ; 1 Peter i. 3-13). Christ died once for all (Heb. vii. 27 ; 1 Peter iii. 18).

In spite of all these similarities we do not think with Velch that St Peter is the author of both epistles, they prove only that both the writers drew something from the same source, viz. from a more or less stereotyped Christian tradition, but there is no evidence of literary dependence.

Palestinian Judaism is scarcely to be noticed in the epistle to the Hebrews, except that there is a mention of the heavenly Jerusalem to come (xiii. 14) which reminds one of that pre-existing Jerusalem in heaven that is to come down ready built to the earth (Apoc. xxi. 2) when the kingdom of God comes. Alexandrian Judaism is very distinctly to be seen, on the contrary, according to certain modern critics.

Carpzow (in ep. ad Heb. 1750) was the first to pass this judgment. He supported it by quotations. And others coming after him have largely borrowed from him. Holtzman gives the following account of the several opinions: Baur sees in this epistle the product of Judeo-Christianity mixed with paulinism and spiritualised by Alexandrianism. Riehm, Reuss, Weiss and Beyschlag connect it with Alexandria and say that it represents primitive Christianity in the direction towards which St Stephen tended, a *via media* between Peter and Paul ; Schmiedel develops

this view: primitive apostolic teaching was the beginning, next came Alexandrian influence, then pauline doctrines; Hilgenfeld believes in Alexandrian influence, but insists that the main part is pauline; Rendall believes in pauline and Alexandrian hellenism; Weizäcker prefers to say that it is Alexandrian Christianity with a pauline basis; Pfeiderer, von Soden and Julicher call it an apology for Christianity in which pauline thoughts are combined with Alexandrian hellenism; Menegoz considers the author to be a disciple of Philo's converted to Christianity but not connected with paulinism. Milligan considers that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews stands by himself and that his method of thought cannot be identified with that of any other thinker of the period, he shows an undoubted independence of some of the forms of apostolic Christianity, a breadth of view similar to St Paul's, and his manner of expressing himself betrays a hellenic or Alexandrian education. Holtzman says that this epistle does not belong to the doctrinal system of Paul, but that it contains some definitely pauline points of view, that some results of pauline thought are joined in it with the hypotheses or theories of Alexandrian philosophy, especially with those of Philo, and have produced a sort of Christian theology of which we have a primitive form in the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, and a later form in the Johannine writings, and in the epistle of Barnabas.

In order to form a judgment as to the value of these opinions, let us examine how this epistle is like and unlike to Philo's writings. We select that writer because he is the best contemporary representative of the Judeo-Alexandrine doctrines.

Language.—Among the most striking similarities

we find Heb. iii. 1 τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν = Philo, *Somniis*, p. 598 (Frankfort ed. 1691) ὁ μὲν δὲ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ὁμολογίας (Heb. iii. 5) καὶ Μωσῆς μὲν πιστὸς ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ = Philo, *Legum allegoriæ*, ii. p. 103, Μωσῆς μαρτυρούμενος ὅτι ἐστὶ πιστὸς ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ Heb. v. 9 ἐγένετο πᾶσιν αἴτιος σωτηρίας Philo, *de agricult.* p. 201, ἐτέροις αἴτιος σωτηρίας γενόμενος, etc.; μετριοπαθεῖν an uncommon word found in Josephus only occurs in Philo and in this epistle in the same meaning; ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν Heb. v. 8 = Philo, *Somniis* p. Heb. καταπέτασμα for the veil of the temple occurs 1123; vi. 19, x. 20 and in Philo, *Vita Mosis*, p. 667.

Besides these verbal coincidences, there are also similarities of style, such as the manner of introducing comparisons, transpositions of words, frequency of interjections such as: ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν (vii. 9) or δήπου (ii. 16) which occur nowhere in the Septuagint or in the New Testament.

Similarity of thought.—The first thing that we must notice is that the exegesis of this epistle agrees with the Alexandrian exegesis in regarding the persons and the events of the Old Testament as types or symbols of higher truths. And Philo agrees with this epistle in believing Holy Scripture to be literally inspired.

The conception of the visible world and of its relations to the invisible is the same in Hebrews and in Philo. The earthly sanctuary with all its accessories of actual worship is the antitype or realisation of the heavenly model (Heb. ix. 24), and in Philo the world of ideas is the original and heavenly type of which the phenomenal world is the earthly expression. The primitive types πράγματα ἀσώματα καὶ γυμνά which remind one of Heb. x. 1

σκιὰν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν belong to heaven, and the antitypes to the earth.

The Christology is Alexandrian in this sense: that it bestows upon the Son of God the attributes that Philo bestows upon the Logos whom he called also the Son of God. You can find in Philo the examples of faith that are quoted Heb. xi. Philo's definition of faith is very similar to Heb. xi. 1. "The soul," he says, "believes not because it sees the promises realised, but because being sustained by a sure hope it lives in expectation, and without having any doubt it considers itself as possessing what as yet is not in existence, because its confidence is absolute in Him that made the promise" (*de migrat. Abrah. i. 442*). Philo and this epistle both speak of the necessity of God's swearing by Himself, and of milk and solid food for the imperfect and the perfect.

Differences.—The most important difference, and the one that excludes the possibility of our calling the author of Hebrews a disciple of Philo's is that he never mentions the Logos or identifies Christ with it. He does mention (iv. 12) λόγος θεοῦ which divides soul and spirit, but that is the voice of God as the context shows. In Hebrews the Son is the Messiah Jesus, the eternal Son incarnate, whereas Philo never identified the Logos with the Messiah or spoke of the incarnation of the Messiah.

Besides, in spite of the identity of the appellations: first-born, high priest, etc., which Philo gives to the Logos and Hebrews to the Son of God, there is this immense difference between the two: that in Hebrews the Son of God is a concrete being, a real person, who has lived, whereas in Philo it is an ideal or metaphysical being; in the one case there is life, in the other abstraction. The same remark applies to the

comparison with Melchisedech. And the allegorical conceptions of the two writers are not as closely allied as Holtzman says. In Philo the legal observances are the antitypes of transcendental ideas, in Hebrews the Old Testament and its ceremonial legislation are a historical reality and a preparation for the New Testament. The other symbols, the tabernacle and the High Priest are in Hebrews the image of a future reality, in Philo they are realisations of abstract ideas.

Finally we may say that the two authors had probably the same scholastic training, they drew from the same sources, and had been under the same discipline, but they wrote independently. The similarities between them are purely external, and the essence of their teaching is far from being identical.

Conclusion.—From the text of the epistle, from its history and from its style and doctrine we gather: that the writer was a Jew, a Christian, of the sub-apostolic age, skilled in Holy Writ, a disciple of St Paul who had carefully studied the pauline epistles and perhaps had been instructed by the Apostle in person. He may have known the third Gospel, the Acts and the first epistle of St Peter. It is not so clear that he knew Philo's writings, but he must have been under the same influence as Philo, and his education must have been Alexandrian rather than Palestinian. He was a prominent member of the community to which he wrote. He knew Greek so well that, though he was a Jew, it must have been his mother tongue. He was a skilful writer, and was thoroughly acquainted with the art of Greek rhetoric.

Now let us consider the claims of those who have been put forward as likely to be the real author. St Paul's claims are supported by Pantenus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen with some reservation, the Fathers

of the Eastern Church, those of the Latin Church after the middle of the fourth century, the Councils of Laodicea, Carthage and dependent councils, the Council of Trent, in our days the majority of Catholic critics and some Protestant critics, Meyer, Paulus, Olshausen, Biesenthal, Wordsworth, Stuart, all of these or nearly all, whether Catholic or Protestant, make the same reservation as Origen. We also agree with him: "The thoughts are the Apostle's, but the language and the arrangement of the thoughts belong to someone who remembered the apostolic teaching and commented on it. God alone knows the truth as to who wrote the epistle" (*Hist. eccl.* vi. 25).

The claims of Barnabas are supported very distinctly by Tertullian who perhaps puts into words the primitive tradition of the Latin Church at all events in Africa, the Codex Claromontanus, Catholic critics: Maier, Fouard, Protestant critics: Ritschl, Weise, Keil, Zahn and Salmon. The general conditions above mentioned are fulfilled in him: he belonged to the sub-apostolic age, had enjoyed the intimate friendship of Paul and had often heard him speak, he had heard the oral tradition which was the result of the earliest preaching, probably he knew the writings of St Luke and of St Peter or their sources, being a Levite he knew the rites and ceremonies, being a native of Cyprus, Greek was his mother tongue, he may have been educated in Alexandria considering how easy communications were with Cyprus, and he was on the best of terms with the Church of Jerusalem on account of his generosity (Acts xi. 24). There exists, it is true, a letter of Barnabas which, whether we consider the style or the matter, cannot very well be by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. Critics agree at the present time that the epistle of Barnabas was written

in 130-140 by an Alexandrian Christian. On the other hand it has been remarked that Barnabas cannot have written that he had been taught by those who heard the Lord, because tradition says that he was one of the seventy-two disciples. And by way of answer to that objection it is said that he merely wrote in that way in order to identify himself rhetorically with his readers.

According to Eusebius (Hist. vi. 25) Origen says that some think that Luke wrote this epistle, Clement Alex. thinks that Paul wrote it in Hebrew and Luke translated it into Greek. Some Catholic critics: Hug, Döllinger, Zill, Huyghe, and some Protestants: Stier, Ebrard, Delitzsch say that Luke wrote it under Paul's inspiration. There is certainly great verbal similarity between St Luke's writings and this epistle. Clement Alex. called attention to this, and Westcott (Ep. to Heb. p. 48) gives nineteen words *ὅθεν, μέτοχος, αρχηγός, σχεδόν*, etc., which are found in these writings only. But we say that if St Luke wrote this epistle, his share must have been purely mechanical, for otherwise it is impossible to understand the Jewish and Alexandrian elements that are in it.

According to Origen (Eusebius, Hist. vi. 25) some thought that Clement of Rome was the author. Eusebius admits that Clement was only the translator of it, and that is what Theodoret (in Heb.) Euthalius (in Heb.) and St Jerome (Vir. ill.) think. Many Catholic critics: Reithmayr, Valroger, Bisping, Kaulen and Cornely think that Clement wrote it under Paul's inspiration. But we say that if you take away from Clement's epistle to the Corinthians the passages that he borrowed from the epistle to the Hebrews, it would be evident at once that both were not composed by the same author, because there is in

Clement's authentic epistle none of the purity of style or originality of thought that distinguish the epistle to the Hebrews.


The others for whom this authorship has been claimed are: Silas by Godet, Apollos by Luther, Bleck, Luneman, de Pressensé, Hilgenfeld, Scholten, Reuss, Pfeiderer, and among Catholics, Feilmoser and Belser; some Alexandrian Jew by Seyffart, Ewald, Hausrath, Lipsius, von Soden, Holtzman, Menegoz, Julicher, Rendall, Westcott, Davidson; Priscilla and Aquila, probably Priscilla by Harnack. This variety of names proves how difficult it is to say anything for certain on the question. In reality none of these claimants possess all the qualifications that we have shown to be required in the author.

But whatever opinion anyone may hold with regard to the name of the author, he must consider the epistle to be canonical, since the Councils of Trent and the Vatican have so decreed.

END OF VOL. I.

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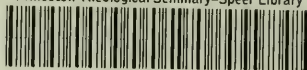
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